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economic tie between the Chinese and the Li, and the Chinese and the Miao. I have discussed this aspect in detail in my other books. (For commercial relations between the Chinese and the Li, see Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, chapters 4 and 5; concerning commercial relations between the Chinese and the Miao see chapter 3 of this book.) The commercial relationship between the Miao and the Li is not very important, yet it does exist. The barter trade by which the Miao exchange their bamboo products with the Li for rice is an example.

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191 In the wake of economic penetration, cultural blending is brought about. It is needless to say that Chinese culture is in the leading position. The most obvious aspect is that the Chinese language is very popular among both the Li and the Miao. Language is the principal medium for the exchange of opinion. It is indispensable in trade. Hence both the Li and the Miao have learned to speak the Hainan dialect of the Chinese language. Similarly, the Li and the Miao have learned each other's languages. Moreover, in order to take part in the complicated intercourse with the Chinese, the Li and the Miao both are anxious to accept Chinese culture, and the simplest way is to learn the Chinese written language. A long time ago, both the Li and the Miao established schools /124/ and invited the Chinese to teach there. Besides these, all their customs — clothing, manner of eating, housing, wedding and funeral services, etc., are greatly Sinicized. This is particularly true of the customs of the Li, because they have had more and frequent contacts with the Chinese than the Miao. This cultural influence between ethnic groups can be found anywhere one cares to investigate. There is less to be said about cultural influence between the Li and the Miao because they themselves have become two tributaries of the large stream of Sinicization.

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648 We should also frankly admit that many other complex problems exist among these three groups. For the future of Hainan or even the future of the Chinese, these problems must be satisfactorily solved.

/For a description of Miao religious practices borrowed from the Chinese
see a discussion of the "guest religion," category 116, pp. 237-297./

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[363] interconnected. Without a guide one can get lost once inside a chai; turning right and left, one will be unable to find an exit. Chinese passing through a Miao chai often cannot find a single Miao, because they have gone into hiding in small alleys, barring the doors and refusing to come out. The Miao chais are not located along lines of communication but in the deep mountains and valleys accessible only by small paths. Although visible at a distance, they often cannot be reached. Without modern arms, they cannot be easily taken. For the last few hundred years continuous Miao unrest in western Hunan may be largely related to the fact that their chais were easy to defend and difficult to capture.

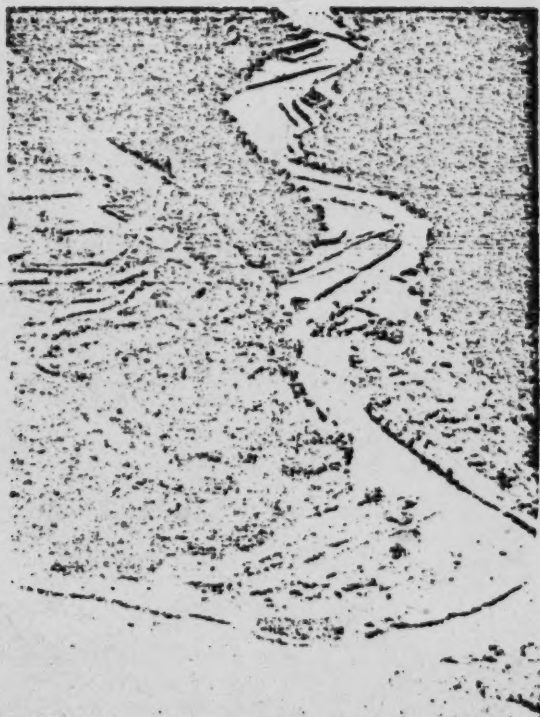
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[342] Houses. — Chinese houses within the Miao area generally are built with walls of sun-dried brick, and roofs covered with tiles. The Miao house is slightly different from the Chinese house. Chinese houses are generally of the three-room type, but Miao houses may consist of one, two, three, four, or five rooms. Wealthy families generally build five-room, two-story houses, with brick walls and tile roofs. Ordinary houses have three rooms with walls made of brick, stone in pieces, or sun-dried brick, and a roof covered with tiles or sometimes slates, pine bark, or thatch. (Illus. 14).¹ Pine trees are abundant in the Miao area /Illus. 11, 12 on pp. 36, 37/ /38/ /Illus. 13 appears here/ and timber is relatively plentiful, hence moderately well-to-do families build two-story houses. Pine bark when pressed flat with stone slabs is used by poor families as a substitute for roof tiles. Slates are abundant in the Miao frontier. The thicker ones are used for building walls and paving streets, the thin ones for roofing. The use of stone slates and bark for roofing is rarely seen in other parts, and it is a distinct feature of the Miao area.

The most common Miao house types are either the two-room type with three pillars and four frames or the three-room type with four pillars and four frames (Illus. 15).² In a three-room type house the middle room is the main room. On the rear wall is attached an ancestral tablet (in imitation of the

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see [text continues on p 63]
1 [cat. 116, p 64 - ANALYST]
2 [" " , p 65 - "]

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Illus. 13. A village along the bank of the
T'ung Ho near Ta-lung-tung.

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Chinese) with the inscription, "Heaven, Earth, Sovereign, Relatives, Teacher." In the room on the right a wooden bed is placed against the rear wall in a corner, /Illus. 14, page 40/ /41/ and covered with a black mosquito net. To the front beyond the bed are put farm implements, and further front is the cow stall. The room on the left also has a bed in it in the rear and a fireplace in the middle. Left of it under the wall pillar are generally placed two small wine cups. This is the place for sacrificing to the ancestors. To the front of the fireplace is the kitchen stove. Among the Miao there are five surnames:

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE MIAO

114 To study the economic life of any ethnic group it is necessary to study first its geographical environment, because the economic activities of mankind are greatly influenced by geographical conditions. Although man can conquer nature, it is only done within certain limits. In the previous chapter we have outlined the geography of the Miao area and have come to understand their natural environment. We are now prepared to proceed further to the description of their economic life. In this connection, however, a point has to be made

114 clear. That is, the Chinese and the Miao have lived side by
 177 side for a long time, and although there is a boundary line
 [439] separating them, the two groups, now at war, now at peace, have traded constantly and maintained very frequent contacts.

Because of this, it goes without saying that the material culture of the Miao in western Hunan today has been largely influenced by the Chinese. What is discussed in this chapter is actually also the human geography of the Miao area. With reference to its economic aspect, because the Miao and the Chinese have lived together for so long, their economic activities at present are quite similar. It is difficult to determine what is characteristically Miao and what is not. Our discussion, however, will center as much as possible on the Miao people.

241 Agriculture. — Before we went into the Miao area we
 [114] had read the account of agriculture in the Miao area in Feng-huang T'ing Chih: /Gazetteer of Feng-huang Sub-prefecture/:
 "They fell the undergrowth and burn it. When the fire is extinguished, they begin cultivation. This is the so-called slash and burn cultivation. After three or four years of planting, the land is abandoned and cultivation commences elsewhere, because the old field is no longer fertile." We had thought that the Miao were still at the primitive stage of

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439 much confusion at times. Later the Chinese were officially prohibited from entering Miao villages to trade, but certain places were designated for sitting up markets, to be used once
 [443] every five days, six times a month. The best-known markets among the Miao are the Te-sheng-ying, Kan-tzu-p'ing, Ya-pao-chai, Ya-la-ying, and Hsin-chai (Illus. 40) of Feng-huang; the Ta-hsin-chai of Kan-ch'eng; and the Wei-ch'eng, Lung-t'an, and Ma-li-ch'ang of Yung-sui. The important articles of trade are salt, cloth, animals, /Illus. 39, p. 73/ /74/ /Illus. 40 appears here/ and grains. Formerly, in trade between the Chinese and the Miao four small bowls were equal to one sheng. For cloth one measure between two hands was considered four ch'ih. The price of cattle and horses are set by the number of fists, regardless of age. The method of measurement by fist is like this. They take a bamboo splint and wind it around the fore ribs of the cow to set its girth, and then they measure the bamboo splint with their fists. A water buffalo which measures 16 fists is big, and a common yellow cow which measures 13 fists is large. The operation is called "fisting a cow." In the case of horses age does come into consideration. They measure a horse from the ground to the saddle place by comparing it with a wooden rod. A 13-fist high one is big. A horse with few teeth but of many fists fetches a higher price, and the reverse fetches a lower price. This operation is called "comparing horses." (1) In recent

1. Miao Fang-peí Lan,
 Vol. 8, "Feng-su K'ao."

[177] times, in the sale of rice, cloth, and other articles, they have adopted the Chinese standards of weight and measurement, but "fisting cows" and "comparing horses" are sometimes still done.

264 Food. — The Miao usually eat two meals a day, but in spring and summer they eat three meals. The staples are
 262 maize, kaoliang, rice, sweet potatoes, and kidney beans.

252 There are two ways of eating maize: grinding it with water

[text continues on p. 106]

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miscellaneous food. This was called yin. Maggots and worms were the delicacies.

"The wealthy kept buckets of yin for many generations."

This was probably the same as the yin of the Miao.

than ten chin were slaughtered and eaten. They were delicious and tender, excelling fat chickens. The dried meat made from them was especially tasty. Those who slaughtered cows would soak the bones in deep springs. After a long time they became soft and were considered a delicacy. The foregoing were the old food habits of the Miao. Today, after having been acculturated to the Chinese for a long time, they may have discarded them. The authors in the course of their investigation in the Miao area did not hear of such foods. Or, perhaps, the Miao, conscious of their unseemly customs, concealed the facts from us.

271 The Miao drink water from the streams. When guests
262 arrive they offer ginger soup or hot pepper soup to show respect.
574 Today, they also know how to use tea in place of soup. There
272 are three kinds of wine, corn wine, wheat /or barley/ wine,
273 and rice wine, which they make themselves for their own consumption.

291 Personal adornment. — As for the style of dress of the
[77] Miao in Hunan today, whether for men or women, it is not very different and can be said to have been completely influenced by the Chinese. The men wrap their heads with black cloth, and wear green or black cloth short garments and trousers, and black cloth belts around the waist, and go barefooted (Illus. 41). During the Manchu dynasty only the village headman shaved his head, the rest piled their hair in hair knots on top of their heads. Today, their hair is close cut or shaved smooth like the Chinese. The only difference is that they pull out the whiskers with the fingernails or with tweezers. Today, those

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Today, those

291 Miao scattered through Kweichow, Yunnan, Kwangsi, and
 184 Indochina still retain for the most part their original style of
 • [177] dress. In 1934 when the authors were studying the Miao tribe
 in Sung-lin-shao, at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, they saw that the
 women for the most part wore old-style clothes, but the men's
 clothing mainly followed the Chinese style. In the course of
 291 conversation with an old man of over 70, they found that he
 [123] kept two men's garments, which he regarded as precious and
 was not willing to show to people. The offer to purchase them
 as specimens was rejected, no matter what the price. They
 only got to take two photographs, Illus. 43 and 44, which show
 an open-front long gown, without a front piece /ch'ien pai/
 but with two sleeves. The top front and the back /hou pai/ of
 [53] the gown had a great deal of embroidery. To make that gown
 must have required a lot of work.

291 The Miao women's clothing in western Hunan resembles
 531 that of farm women in the interior during the last days of the
 [177] Ch'ing dynasty. The length of the upper garment does not
 pass the knee, it has a wide border and an embroidered lapel,
 and the sleeves and trousers of even ordinary house garments
 have embroidered borders (Illus. 42). The workmanship and
 the color combinations are slightly different from the Chinese.
 Illustrations 45 and 46 show the everyday clothes of Miao
 women, with a wide border and embroidered large lapel.
 About a kung fen beyond the wide border, is further added a
 narrow border of about two kung fen. In between the two
 borders they sew on a strip of colored cloth or woolen thread.
 On the sleeves are also sewed on one, two, or three borders.
 But for the most part there is no collar.

292 Garments worn when a bride is married or at festivals or
 [531] at weddings (Illus. 48-51) are embroidered on the large lapel
 and on the front and back pieces with plant designs and human
 figures, involving much labor. The Miao girl in her whole
 life makes only one such gown, starting making it a few years
 before her marriage for her wedding dress, and after her
 [74] marriage /Illus. 41-52 on pp. 78-87/ 88/ she wears it on

[text continues on p. 122]

/93 cont. /

- 551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ [551] was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs, [177] [594] [764] barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage.

- 836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him.

- [345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would [584] [597] [533]

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584 Today, the marriage customs of the Miao have been
 [177] thoroughly influenced by the Chinese and have changed from
 the old ways. Boys and girls who like each other return home
 and tell their parents. The boy's family finds a go-between to
 approach the girl's family to discuss marriage. Once, twice,
 and sometimes three or four times, such approaches may be
 made before an agreement is reached. Having had indications
 of assent from the girl's family, the go-between goes back to
 report to the boy's family, who get ready two bottles of wine
 [552] (a wealthy family would send along two chin of meat and two
 chin of noodles besides the wine). The gifts are carried back
 by the go-between to the girl's family, who invite him to drink
 wine and eat noodles. Where this procedure has been gone
 through then they reckon it to be the preliminary engagement,
 which in the Miao language is called (paŋ7 tɕ mɕ'a7),
 meaning "to let the girl go," also translated as /Chinese/
 fang k'ou "to let go the mouth /door?/. "

After the preliminary engagement a period of time is
 [782] allowed to elapse. Then the ceremony of sticking in incense
 has to take place, which is called /soŋ7 t'ɿɿ7), with the mean-
 ing of /Chinese/ na ts'ai, i.e. the sending of gifts to the bride's
 home and fix the betrothal. The date is selected by the boy's
 family, who then informs the girl's family. The gifts generally
 [583] consist of 50 or 60 strings of cash, one outfit of clothing, a pair
 of earrings, a pair of bracelets, a few boxes of rice cakes, two
 chin of sweetmeats, two packages of firecrackers, one chin
 of oil, one chin of salt, a jug of wine, and several chin of meat.

[552] The quantity of the foregoing gift items depends largely upon
 the financial condition of the boy's family. Poor families may
 [583] omit a few items, but money, clothes, rings, bracelets, fire-
 crackers, wine, meat, incense and candles are necessary items.
 These gifts are carried by the brothers of the future groom,
 followed by the go-between, the future groom, and his father,
 to the girl's family. Sometimes, the future groom may not go.
 When the gifts arrive at the door to the house, firecrackers are
 set off, and the party is received outside the door by the clan

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583 get busy with the bride's marriage portion. Most commonly it consists of one or two trunks, four or five garments making one outfit, two pairs of trousers, and a suit of clothes for the groom.

[301] Such women's ornaments as earrings, rings, bracelets, and neck rings have been sent previously by the groom's family to the bride's, or silver is sent instead for the bride's family to have the ornaments made of it. On the day set the groom's

585 family send along wine, meat, firecrackers, incense and candles, and torches, and recently they include sedan chairs or chairs. When they arrive before the entrance of the bride's

• [177] family, recently, in imitation of the Chinese custom, they close the entrance and demand money for opening the gate in the sum of eight hundred cash or one string /one thousand/ of cash. Further, they intentionally curse the go-between and complain that the gifts of wine and meat sent by the boy's

[756] family are not enough. The bride then gets dressed up, and [782] meanwhile a Miao sorcerer is invited to make sacrifices to the ancestors. A square table is laid with sacrificial items, incense

[787] and candles, and the sorcerer priest recites incantations, kowtows, and performs divination with straws, to cut off the powers of evil. He lights two torches, opens a parasol, and invites the bride to come out to kowtow three times to the ancestral tablet.

After this she kowtows once to her parents, once to all her brothers and paternal male cousins, and once to her maternal grandparents. This done, she turns around facing outside and

[554] mounts the sedan chair (in a rich family) or walks (middle-class family), holding a half-opened parasol. The brothers, sisters, cousins, mother's married sisters, mother's brothers wives, and mother of the bride accompany her on the way.

If the bride arrives too early at her husband's house, she has to wait in a side building or take a rest in a neighbor's house. At

585 that time a table is laid in front of the entrance with incense [782] and candles, a piece of cooked meat, and three cups of wine.

[752] A guest sorcerer offers the following prayer:

[539] "The day is auspicious, the moment is opportune, Heaven and earth open out.

845 /99 cont. /

asked to utter and write spells to hasten the womb. After the infant is born the cord is cut with a pair of scissors and the placenta is buried in the ground in the house or outside.

After childbirth a Miao woman drinks several bowls of cold water for the purpose of purifying her blood. Within three days she goes out to the fields to work. There are cases in which a woman gives birth in the forenoon and goes out to work in the afternoon. It is said that the Miao woman is able to do this by eating a secret herb. For postnatal nourishment the poor eat eggs and the rich eat chicken.

Recently, the Miao have adopted the Chinese custom of inviting friends and relatives to a feast and naming ceremony on the third day after a child's birth. A name is sometimes adopted according to the time of birth. For instance, if a child is born in a certain month, it would be named after the month.

The chief of the Miao at the time of the rebellion during the reign of Emperor Ch'ien Lung was called Wu pa-yüeh /Wu, Eighth Month/. Sometimes the name of the season when the birth occurred is adopted. In another case, the weight of the infant may be used as the name, for instance, an infant weighing so many chin at birth will be named for that weight. In still other cases, the name of an animal, a pig, goat, sheep, dog, or cow is used in the belief that the child will be easy to raise.

There is no definite time for feeding the baby. Generally when the baby cries it is fed. If the mother has no milk, the baby is then fed with sugar and rice. At the time of teething,

if the first tooth emerges in the upper jaw, it is a sign of ill omen, portending the death of one of the parents or paternal grandparents, because the Miao believe that such a tooth is a grave-digging hoe.

/100/ A pregnant unmarried girl often produces an abortion by swallowing mercury. Illegitimate infants are often drowned. Properly married couples rarely practice abortion or infanticide.

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(4) Funerals

764 The funeral rites of the Miao today, like their marriage
 [177] rites, have been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Their old
 [113] funeral customs were different from those of today. Volume
 40 of Hunan Tung Chih /Geographical Encyclopedia of Hunan
 (1885)/: "At the time of burial the Miao also know how to cry
 and weep, but they do not use burial gowns nor coffins, nor
 do they wear coarse hemp mourning garments. When a man
 [787] dies, a site is selected by divination with bamboo splints, and
 there a hole three or four ch'ih deep is dug, which is lined
 with wooden planks. The corpse is placed in the hole and
 covered with earth. Three days later, the deceased's family
 765 slaughters an animal to invite the relatives to eat and drink.
 In the second month of the following year they make sacrificial
 769 offerings of animals and paper money: for the sons place their
 782 offerings on the left, the daughters on the right according to
 custom. This is done every year for three years and no more.
 They do not have the custom of sweeping the tomb each year.
 765 The newly bereaved family is consoled with gifts of local
 products by relatives and friends. The host family slaughters
 a cow and sets up a meal. This is called 'seeing off the
 mourners.'" Volume 11 of Lung-shan Hsien Chih /Gazetteer
 764 of Lung-shan Hsien (1878)/ states: "When a Miao dies, wooden
 [113] planks are put on the bed, and the corpse is placed on them.
 Men and women weep loudly around him; relatives /clansmen
 and by marriage?/ come to offer condolences, bringing various
 cereals, joining sadly in the weeping. Piling up rocks and earth
 they build a grave mound, but only where the head lies they
 do not pile up rocks and earth so as not to crush it. After three
 765 days they slaughter an animal and make a sacrifice at the tomb,
 782 in which all the relatives participate, leaving after being
 wined and dined. In the second month of the following year,
 769 sacrifices are offered at home. Afterward men and women
 [782] disappear into mountain caves, which is called 'warding off
 disaster.'"

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756 The mourning son of the deceased, with a bamboo rice basket
 764 hanging from his waist, and the sorcerer stand beside the body.
 789 While the sorcerer utters spells, he points his straw sword in his
 right hand first toward the body of the deceased, then to the
 basket of the son, back and forth, until he has finished uttering
 the spell. With his left hand the son pulls the fingers of the
 dead, and with the right hand he scrapes these fingers with a
 thin slice of bamboo several times and then drops the bamboo
 into the basket. Meanwhile the priest continues his incantations.
 After the righthand fingers of the dead man have been scraped,
 his lefthand fingers are given the same treatment until the
 incantations are completed. After the Miao sorcerer finishes
 his performance, another guest sorcerer is invited to come
 chant a liturgy and "buy water." On the gate, in Chinese
 [177] fashion, there is pasted a strip of white paper, on which are
 written the three characters Tang Ta Shih /"carrying out the
 important matter" — a parent's funeral/. Messengers are sent
 763 to announce the death to clan members in distant places.
 764 When the clan members receive the news and come to offer
 606 condolences, there is no set ritual of condolence, but the family
 of the daughter-in-law must give a pig's head, a piece of pork,
 a large jar of rice, as well as incense, candles, paper, and
 firecrackers. A son-in-law must give a pig, a goat, and a
 tableful of fish and meat dishes, called the "yang /earthly/
 feast," and a tableful of simulated fish, meat, chicken, and
 duck made of flour, called the "yin /spirit world/ feast,"
 together with a number of strings of cash incense, and candles.
 764 Guests coming to offer condolences follow the same ceremony
 [177] as the Chinese.

In the evening of the day that mourning ceremonies begin,
 606 first the pig and goat presented by the son-in-law are slaughtered
 [782] and cooked and placed in a number of bowls, which are offered
 in sacrifice before the coffin. After the sacrificial ceremony,
 the distant paternal relatives /tsu hsiung-ti/ of the bereaved
 family are asked to come forward to take part in the drinking

/102 cont./

764 coffin and the women behind it. The people who carry the
604 coffin while on the way ask the deceased's son-in-law for wine
[609] to drink, without which they would not proceed. Arriving at
the burial ground the "empress' relative" throws down the torch
on the grave, and returns the grass sword to the host. The grave

[372] pit has already been dug by men sent ahead. Now they burn
oiled hemp stalks, which is called "warming up the grave."

764 A geomancer is on hand to mark out the eight diagrams /used
787 in Chinese system of divination/ with rice at the bottom of the
[791] grave, and a cock is let down into the pit to peck at the rice,
in order to divine the good and bad luck of the host's family.

[177] If the cock eats the rice on the left side, then the male mem-
bers will have good luck, if on the right side, then the female
members will have peace. If it eats in the center then both
men and women will have luck. After the coffin is laid in the

764 pit, the geomancer, holding a sheng of white, polished rice,
791 stands at the head of the coffin and scatters the rice, making
complimentary remarks. The mourning filial son and others
kneel at the foot of the coffin, catch the rice in their clothes.
After the burial, the geomancer holds a flat, called the "calling-

[774] back-the-soul flag," and leads the procession back, and when
they arrive at the bereaved family's house, everyone puts a few
grains of cooked rice in the mouth to avoid losing the soul.

764 The sorcerer, carrying a bamboo tube full of water, stands at
756 the junction of crossroads or at the main entrance and scatters
water with a broom made of green grass, uttering spells, to get
rid of the tainted air and to dispel evil spirits.

765 After returning from the grave and attending to the dispersal
of all the relatives and friends from everywhere, the host then
must provide a feast for the "torch wine and meat" men brought
along by the "empress' relative." If after they have eaten
again and again, the hospitality is still inadequate, often it
may cause "other shoots to sprout /i.e. troubles/," and cause

[605] trouble for the host. After the meal, the paternal third cousin
[604] /?/ departs, but the "empress' relative" himself remains.

/102 cont. /

765 After the funeral, on the day of Mao /of the traditional
 756 calendar/, the bereaved family invites a sorcerer to the house
 [782] to offer sacrifices to the deceased. A table is set, on which
 [787] are laid bowls of meat and cups of wine. The sorcerer burns
 yellow wax, beats bamboo tubes, and utters spells. When the
 [787] sorcerer's hands suddenly begin to shake without stopping, the
 members of the family think that the deceased has come back,
 and they all burst out in loud weeping. In the fifth night watch
 765 they offer mi-pa to the honorable deceased, which somewhat
 [782] resembles the Chinese custom of hui sha /"warding off noxious
 [177] influences"/. After this the maternal uncle about to depart,
 [604] ask the host family for personal things left, such as the deceased's
 [768] clothes, shoes, socks, and bed sheets. If the dead person was
 a woman, he asks for the marriage portion and the amount
 received depends upon the financial condition of the host
 family.

766 From very early times the Miao have had tribes but not
 756 tribal chiefs, and therefore they do not have different classes
 [569] nor differentiated marriage or funeral ceremonial customs.
 The funeral for a Miao sorcerer, however, is slightly different
 from that for the ordinary person. When a sorcerer is at the
 point of death, /103/ two other sorcerer priests are summoned
 to the house. When he breathes his last, the members of the
 family must not weep. One sorcerer priest climbs on the house
 and removes a few tiles from it to make an opening, which
 is called "opening the heaven's gate." The other sorcerer
 priest sits below behind the deceased, and as soon as he sees
 "heaven's gate" has been opened, he immediately lets out a
 loud cry, to which the one on the roof responds with another
 cry, and thus, the two men, one above and the other below,
 start their ritual. It is said that the one above opens heaven's
 gate, and the one below shuts the grove /literally, "earth
 storehouse"/. This is to cause the departed sorcerer not to
 enter hell but to ascend to heaven. After this the family mem-
 bers may begin to cry and weep.

/112 cont./

C The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been
 631 in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original
 563 separation of the execution and administrative functions between
 701 the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao
 M could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time.
 631 But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have
 622 gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference
 * 648 between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they
 701 have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration
 [177] for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded.
 Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be
 able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been
 profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other
 hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through pay-
 ing bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the
 Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials
 more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the
 various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system
 of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a
 head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In
 view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous.
 It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do
 away with them soon.

/113/

CHAPTER SEVEN

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

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 175
 563
 669
 M
 * 175
 * 648
 C
 [712] Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming
 dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of
 blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

C /114 cont./

175 During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of
563 the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard
669 stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to
[901] blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops
[712] /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced
* 175 to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When
* 648 the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peace-
M ful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving
C 1,100 men. Military strength was slight and the defense system
[631] was relaxed. Further, following the change from native head-
M men to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head
of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese
and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth
• [77] year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having
undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed
to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to
change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time
evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of
trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter
into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for
personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a
pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments
on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought
about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/
and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion
was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was
yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the
blockade policy was once more used. The various hsien
along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

C Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Feng-
175 huang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, con-
563 trolling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left,
701 with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains
M /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants
701 /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries
/e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

/123 cont./

C The t'un fields in the Miao frontier were divided into
 701 people's /i.e. Chinese/ t'uns and Miao t'uns, the two being
 425 entirely different in nature. The t'un males working on the
 651 Chinese t'uns were also divided into t'un men and fighting men.
 The t'un men received fields to cultivate, and guarded the t'un
 guard houses. The fighting men, also called home guards, were
 solely trained for military operations, and did not farm. In the
 five sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao frontier there are
 7,000 t'un men, from among whom are appointed hsiao-ch'i,
tsung-ch'i, and pe-tsung to facilitate control. The distribution
 of fields was as follows: the men /san ting/ are each given
 4.5 mu; the hsiao-ch'i, 5.5 mu; the tsung-ch'i, 6.5 mu; and
 the pe-tsung, 7.5 mu. There are 1,000 fighting men, each
 being given 3 shih, 6 tou of rice per year. The non-fighting
 men are also each given annually 10.8 liang of silver for salt
 and vegetables. The hsiao-ch'i receives each year 12 liang of
 silver; the tsung-ch'i, 13.2 liang of silver; the pe-tsung, 16.8
 liang of silver. Therefore, in the Chinese t'un, the fields and
 land left over after the t'un men have received their fields to
 plant and care for are leased out for the collection of rent.
 Granaries (Illus. 57) have been built to store the grain, and
 general t'un leaders are set up to manage these matters. There
 are no t'un men in the Miao t'uns, and the t'un fields are allotted
 C to people to cultivate /Illus. 57 and 58 on pages 124 and 125/
 701 /126/ for the collection of rent, in order to feed the Miao
 425 soldiers, under the control of the Miao officials. The t'un fields
 651 in the Miao frontier region, at the inception of the system,
 563 totaled 150,000 mu of arable land, of which barely a third was
 M directly cultivated by t'un personnel, the rest being allotted
 701 out as rented fields. Today, the t'un army in the Miao frontier
 648 region is about 1,000 strong. The maintenance of the Black
 Flag Battalion of the Miao troops (Illus. 58) largely comes from
 [425] the rented fields. T'un fields were set up to support troops on
 [177] the spot as a defense against the Miao. Today, the Miao have
 been largely acculturated by the Chinese and the boundary line
 between the Miao and the Chinese is gradually becoming
 obliterated. [text continues on p 185]

/127 cont./

121

771

Joseph Needham, translated
into Chinese by Li An-che,
Wu-shu K'o-hsüeh Tsung-chiao
yü Shen-hua, page 1, The
Commercial Press.

According to the report

114 of the Japanese anthropologist, Torii Ryüzō: "The Miao of
771 today have lost their native religion." (2) This perhaps was due

2. Torii Ryüzō: Miao Tsu Tiao-
ch'a Pao-kao, National Translation
Bureau's Chinese translation, page
259, The Commercial Press.

to a lack in Mr. Torii's investigation, that it neglected the re-
ligion of the Miao. According to the result of the investigations
of the writers in western Hunan, the Miao tribe there not only
have not lost their religion but also have preserved the magic
related to their religion. Furthermore, while they have kept
771 their native religion on one hand, on the other they have been
177 influenced to a small extent by Chinese magical practices.
Although the domain of magic has been reduced, we can still
find vestiges of its existence. As to the domain of the Profane,
or Science, we cannot tell what is native or what has been
influenced by the Chinese, due to the high degree of their
sinicization.

(1) Religion

776

771

[777]
[192]

The Miao do not differentiate between shen /Chinese,
"gods," "spirits"/ and kuei /Chinese, "devils," "spirits"/.

All are in the sacred domain, and are recognized to have
supernatural power; whether they are devils, ancestral spirits,
or gods, they are all called "kuei," [kuey] in the Miao
language. In their daily life, whenever a strange phenomenon
or an abnormal mien that cannot be controlled or explained

/128 cont. /

In recent years,

- 177 Chinese magical practices have been transmitted into the Miao
771 frontier region, and the Miao also believe in the Chinese shen.
Hence, today there are two kinds of religion in the Miao region.
(1) the Miao religion and (2) the guest religion. (1) Each of

[648]

1. The Miao call the Chinese "guests" and so
(call the religion trans-
mitted by the Chinese the
"guest religion."

these religions has its own sphere and does not conflict with the other in influence, for both are based on animism so they can exist together.

- 756 The Miao religion and the guest religion each has its own
[177] sorcerer-priests. The Miao sorcerer [paɿ tɛɿ ʃionɿ] is commonly
called the Miao lao-shih /"teacher"/, and the guest sorcerer
[paɿ tɛɿ ʃaɿ] called the guest lao-shih.

- When the Miao lao-shih performs a minor ritual, for the most part he wears ordinary dress. Only when performing important sacrificial ceremonies, such as Eating Pigs and Bludgeoning the Ox, do they wear caps and long gowns. His paraphernalia include a bowl of beeswax, a hand bell, a bamboo tube, a short double-edged sword, as well as paper banners and a paper parasol. The guest lao-shih wears a spirit /shen/ hat and a spirit long gown when he presides over important rituals.

- 752 His paraphernalia include an ox horn, a ritual /"teacher's"/
177 sword, and a willow kerchief. Both the Miao and the guest
[292] sorcerer-priests only perform religious ceremonies. For communication with the kuei and shen, for instance to find out, in
177 case of sickness, which kuei is causing the trouble, /129/ and
791 then they have in addition a woman or man magician /lit.
787 "fairies"/ who can travel to the yin world to find out. In
[755] addition, there are diviners to find out about good and ill
* [782] fortune in affairs. To calculate the day of getting sick and to select the date for sacrifice to the kuei, there are the date setters. Except for the Miao lao-shih, the rest of the above-

1 [For an extended discussion of the "guest religion", see category 116, pp 237-297-]

177 /129 cont. /

791 mentioned were introduced by the Chinese. The method of

787 calculating the date is the same as that of the Chinese.

123 The best way to understand the religion of a people is to participate in their religious ceremonies, observing closely and making inquiries. If one does not have the opportunity to observe such religious ceremonies, one can depend upon competent and reliable inquiries for recording and study.

776 The western Hunan Miao are in awe of kuei. According
* 782 to the gazetteer of Yung-sui sub-prefecture, there are more than 70 kuei which receive sacrifices in Miao districts. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih,
Vol. 6 /1908/.

[114] We have made a study of 40 of them. Although the list is by no means complete, the important ones are covered. Thus we can understand about 80 or 90 per cent of the contents of the religion of the Miao of western Hunan. Among the religious ceremonies of the 40 kuei receiving sacrifices, 16 belong to the Miao religion and 24 to the guest religion.

The various sacrificial ceremonies for kuei as performed by the Miao, whether they are of the Miao religion or the guest religion, are outward manifestations of mankind's inclination to avoid calamities and seek blessings. The things to be avoided are disease, death, and all other calamities. What is sought is the increase of wealth and descendants. Because they believe that calamities and blessings are completely in the control of kuei, they regard them with great awe. This awe produces respect, and respect calls for sacrifices. Whenever they come across any misfortune, they unquestionably want to sacrifice to the kuei, but even in ordinary untroubled times, at regular intervals, they also make sacrifices to the kuei. The former may be called special sacrifices which are performed because of sickness or other misfortune, or because of a portent; the latter may be called routine sacrifices which are held for no particular reason.

/129 cont./

* 782

Although the routine sacrifice is not held for any particular reason, its object is nevertheless the avoidance of calamities and the seeking of blessings. The "Sacrifice to the Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" of the Miao religion and the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and the "Flying Mountain" ceremonies of the guest religion are all for the purpose of beseeching the kuei not to make trouble and seeking their protection. The special sacrifices for the avoidance of calamities may be divided into

four categories: (1) for seeking a cure upon suffering illness; (2) for seeking cleansing after seeing a supernatural phenomenon or after any unlucky matter; (3) for seeking the resolution of a conflict that has arisen; (4) for seeking pardon for sins after death. Those sacrifices for the invocation of blessings may be divided into two categories: (1) to ask for wealth; (2) to ask for children. But there are many ceremonies which on one hand are to avoid calamities, and /130/ at the same time are also ones which seek blessings. "Bludgeoning the Ox" of the

Miao religion can be performed both for the cure of sickness and can also be performed to ask for children. "Redeeming a Vow to the No" of the guest religion may be performed for the cure of illness or to ask for wealth or children, or can be performed for all of these.

Among the 16 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kuei of the Miao religion that we were able to investigate, the "Sacrifice"

to the "Ancestors" and "Eating Pigs" are routine sacrifices; "Ta Chia Hsien," "Redeeming the Soul," "Sacrifice to the Kuei of Pimples," and "Bludgeoning the Ox" are for seeking cures for sickness; the "Ta Kan Lo," "Sending Away the Supernatural Forces of the Old Tree," "washing the cat," and "washing the house" are for seeking cleansing after seeing a strange phenomenon or something unlucky; "Eating Blood" is for seeking resolution of a conflict that has arisen; and "Releasing the Soul of the Dead from Suffering" is for asking forgiveness of a dead person's sins. All the above, except for "Bludgeoning the Ox," which asks for a son at the same time, are ceremonies performed for the avoidance of calamities.

/130 cont./

- * 782 Among the 24 ceremonies of sacrifice to the kwei of the guest religion, the "Local Divinity of the Soil" and "Flying Mountain" are routine sacrifices, and the rest may be performed for multiple entreaties. The following is a presentation in separate divisions of the various sacrifices to kwei in both the Miao and guest religions.
- 177

1. Miao Religion

(1) Sacrifice to the Ancestors

- 769 The sacrifice to the ancestors, called [ɕiɿ ɕioŋɿ] in the Miao language, is performed generally once a year in every family, but sometimes once every few years, after the autumn harvest. In the event of a death, it must be performed not later than within five or six days after the death. The kwei invoked are called [ɕioŋɿ lioɿ ɕioŋɿ koɿ]. The place for the sacrifice is beside the fire pit inside the house and the time is in the early morning. They set up a winnowing basket in which are placed five bowls of wine, five bowls of meat, with the rest of the space filled with pa-pa.¹ The winnowing basket is laid down on the left side of the fire pit, and a bowl of beeswax and a bamboo tube on the right. The Miao Sorcerer sits facing the fire pit, beating the bamboo tube with his right hand, uttering incantations, the general idea of which is as follows:

"The fifth and the sixth months has already gone by; the ninth and the tenth months have arrived. In the loaded fields the five grains have ripened. They carry the grain back home, the men on their shoulders with a pole and the women on their backs. They cannot eat it all; they invited me to come. I brought soldiers and horses to fill this house; I am burning beeswax, beating the bamboo tube, and have prepared the wine, meat, pa-pa, and paper money. I beg you kwei to receive them, but hold them for the time being without eating them!"

- 769 At this point he ceases to beat the bamboo tube and with
787 a pair of chiaio-tzu (1) divines the fortunes of the whole family
1 [i'e - maize baked into a crust - ANALYST]

/141 cont. /

*782 incense and paper are burned. They watch the stance of the animal to divine good and bad luck. If the water buffalo, on entering the house, lifts his feet to advance, with its head facing [787] the incense censer, and glances at the ancestral shrine, then it [777] portends good luck. If the water buffalo is stubborn and refuses to move forward or even tries to back out as if frightened, then it portends bad luck. After the water buffalo has been bought, a Miao sorcerer is asked to come to the house to present the ox to the kuei, and also to beseech the kuei. After this presentation, the family has to wait for the first frost after the autumn harvest to make the sacrifice. When the date is decided it is never changed or postponed.

*782 After the autumn harvest has been completed and the first frost has arrived, an auspicious day is chosen to sacrifice to the kuei. Half a month before, four paternal male cousins are asked [602] to go separately to where the relatives live to notify them. The [203] most important relatives are the families of the host's mother's brother and the wife's maternal uncle, who are said to be the "leg-bearing relatives." They are so-called because after sacrificing to the kuei, one leg of the buffalo is given to the maternal uncle's relatives. A buffalo is divided into four legs. The first belongs to the host's mother's brother, the second to the wife's maternal uncle, and the third and fourth are sent to other close relatives. The "leg-bearing relatives on receiving the notification presents the messenger with a strip of red cloth as an expression of gratitude. Moreover, within the 12 days before the sacrifice, one must avoid seeing unclean things, such as a dead cat, a dead dog, or a dead person. If this avoidance is violated, then [782] the person may not be in the company of the buffalo kuei. The [783] "leg-bearing" relatives often go together with the clan brothers /of [784] the host/, making up a number of at least ten or more men up to as many as 60 or 70. Also invited are musicians, trumpeteers /?/, and drummers, to go in formation. Wealthy families imitate [550] the old customs of the former Manchu dynasty, displaying official [177] insignia, playing fine music, and beating gongs and carrying parasols. The maternal uncle's family entitled to the first leg

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
 [562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
 [693] its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
 Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
 [439] practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
 [177] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
 them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
 method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
 profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
 and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
 which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
 cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
 water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
 collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
 fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
 where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
 like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
 dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
 woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
 be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
 real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
 in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
 from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
 ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
 they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
 make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.

[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
 able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
 no results. The following notes are some material obtained
 through interrogation.

Ku is called h'iy in the Miao language, and a ku woman
 is called [mp'at f'iy]. Most of the ku women are loved by
 their husbands. /200/ which is called t'ioA f'iy, meaning
 seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to

[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/233 cont. /

* 535 (7) The Fierce-Tiger-Descending-the-Hill Dance (Illus. 115)

The dancer crosses his right foot in front of his left foot, the left foot drawing back to form the shape of a large arrow.

[533] At the same time the right hand beats the drum, tung, tung, — tung, tung, tung, tung, tung, tung. When the shape of an arrow is formed with the feet, the right hand beats the drum once, then the left hand once, and then both hands beat in unison.

(8) The Ta-Pa-Pa Dance (Illus. 116)

The dancer faces the drum with his body facing slightly left. The two feet face a bit to the left and are separated, making the character pa /"eight"; it is fan-shaped/, about 25 centimeters apart. The fist is not clenched. First the drum

[533] is beaten with the back of the right hand, tung, tung, — tung, two times; then it is beaten tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung — tung, tung — tung. The body slightly bent in a hunched posture, the dancer beats with the left and right hands alternating. This dance is done by both men and women.

(II) Amusements

517 The Miao live in the midst of mountains, in a monotonous environment, going out to work daily, and daily going in to sleep. In their leisure hours they indulge in all kinds of amusements to pass the time.

257 There are many kinds of games for children, such as cat catch the rat, blind man make an arrest, old tiger bite the goat, go through the dragon /Illus. 115-16, p. 234/ /235/ gate, catch the sparrow, beat the snail, and kick the shuttlecock, all more or less similar to the games played by Chinese children. Probably they were introduced by the Chinese. We shall describe only a few which are relatively unique as below.

[text continues on p351]

/235 cont. /

857 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away,
304 revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the
526 dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the
[177] same as those of the Chinese /illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/
[41] /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind
of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing
prong"/ (illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to
Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite
[527] interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during
the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on
a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every
swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a
board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around
with the wheel (illus. 120). Men and women sing back and
[533] forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not
translated/). The following song is about the origin of the
539 swing:
713
526

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

194 this point—including "singing tones" similar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sentence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

87/ When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys—rarely a girl—receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

[10a]

871 go beyond the local primary school. In the
177 family in which I lived, for several generations
one or more boys have graduated from middle
school. There is one now in the *hsien* city of
Lung-li, but formerly they had to go to Kwei-
yang. This family has furnished the teacher of
the local school for two generations. Most of
the men and many of the women speak Chi-
nese, especially those who go to market a
great deal. One of the priests in the village
told Miss Li that he had a book of the ritual
for "opening the way" written in Chinese,
but he never showed it to us. A well-educated
Miao often insists that he is Chinese (Han)
and those in Kweiyang are sinicized.

[106]

When they were a little older they watched animals as they grazed, cared for younger children, or did a smaller share of the same work as their elders. Even the very small girls were seen working on the pieces of the overpiece which employed the simplest and coarsest stitches.

Children were indulged as far as the family could afford to do so. The choicest bits were often given them. Mothers brought back little packages of these from a feast, or, if the child was present, they were put on a little dish which the child could take home and share, if he or she wished. Mothers brought back small chestnuts, berries, and azaleas when they went to the mountains for fuel. I have given an older woman something to eat, only to have a child snatch it out of her hand, and been given something myself for which the children have begged of me. A child seemed never to be without something to eat, tucked in a pocket or the front of its blouse. Parents almost never returned from market without a treat for them, and I was expected to do this, too. They even got into the way of demanding that it be the brown sugar cakes, of which they were very fond, and which were expensive, as no sugar is grown in this locality. Once the second nephew's little boy, Ssu-pao, asked me for sugar which I did not have. Next day when I was in their kitchen he threatened me with a chopping knife. His mother just laughed and said, "He wants sugar." His great aunt reproved him. However, mothers did most of the disciplining, which may account for the fact that a child almost always howled for his father when it was hurt, spanked, or wanted something very much. Tantrums were frequent, when a child screamed until it got what it wanted or until the parents were out of patience and gave it a slap. Some children went through a period of crying for little or no reason. Older folks just laughed at that.

Only a few of the boys, and almost never a girl, went to the school less than half a mile away, and then only for a few years (fig. 18, d). Still fewer went on to the higher school in Lung-li. On the whole they had little use for the education offered, for it was in Chinese, and like that in all Chinese schools, useful only to those who went into business or some profession. Most of the Miao

are farmers. In the family in which I lived the oldest man, one nephew, and the son had gone through middle school in Kweiyang. The nephew's eldest son was then in the Lung-li Middle School. Both the old man and the nephew have been the teacher in the local school. The son had considerable business to do for the family. 872 177

On three occasions when the moon was full and the night clear — the fifteenth of the Chinese month — children ran and shouted until they were tired out. Once this was at the temple while the Huang and Su families were holding the annual family feast. Twice it was in the village. Like the Chinese, the Miao seemed loathe to go to bed as long as it was light enough out of doors to see, particularly on moonlit nights. One such night someone was practising the *lu sheng* until well into the night, the children were shouting and the young folks laughing and talking. On two other nights when it was very clear and the moon bright, though not full, the young men played the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, a, b) and the girls danced. Lively, fast tunes were played, and all seemed to be enjoying themselves hugely. This took place at the point where the men made a sacrifice and had a feast on San Yüeh San. They told me they would have danced out of doors on the occasion of an old lady's funeral had there been a moon, but it came at the dark of the moon. [35] 517

Youth. Young people grew up much less hedged about with conventions than were the Chinese of the locality. They worked and played together, as in the cleaning of stables, fishing in the pond, harvesting, and the New Year holiday. At that time girls sat about two fires in the space bounded by the buffalo bullfighting meadow, a bamboo thicket, a cluster of grave mounds, and the highway along the southern edge of the wood. There they embroidered, played the flute, and sang, as they entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages. A group of women with their children sat about the third fire, but did not interfere with the teasing, snatching of turbans and ornaments, and chasing which went on. During this period boys from other villages stayed all night in the homes of this village, and a group went to market together. If there was sexual promiscuity at this time, it was not practised openly. 883 836

[496]

THE PROVINCE & ITS PEOPLES 3

Fang Shuh, who was the leader, proceeded with 175 three thousand chariots as far as the present cities of Changsha and Changte in Hunan. Three mailed warriors rode in each chariot, and these, with other soldiers, made up a force of some thirty thousand men. The barbarians, alarmed at the news of recent Chinese victories over the Northern Tartars, and terrified by the beating of drums and cymbals, submitted without resistance.

During the reign of Shih Hwang Ti, the Emperor who built the Great Wall and overthrew the feudal system of China (200 B.C.), cities were built in what are now the southern provinces of the Empire, and the whole of that country was brought under real or nominal subjection. The wilder west was, however, still unsubdued, and into these higher and less fertile regions many of the Miao withdrew.

When the Chinese first came upon the scene, the *Nan Man* or *Miao* were probably as numerous, if not more numerous than the new arrivals. The Chinese, however, were not only more civilised but under one government, whereas the Miao were divided under many local kings and rulers. The inevitable result followed. The Miao were gradually destroyed, or absorbed 175 by the conquering race, or driven to the less 177

AMONG THE TRIBES

175 desirable regions of the west and south-west.
 • 177 This process of absorption has been going on since the days of Yao and Shuen, 2356 B.C., and may be observed at the present time in the province of Kweichow. In that province many of the Chinese have Miao wives or concubines, and the children of such marriages always claim to be and are looked upon as Chinese.

121 The writer has neither the intention nor the ability to recall the history of the Miao tribes from the earliest times. His purpose, so far as he is able, is to describe briefly the different peoples now inhabiting the province of Kweichow, more especially the non-Chinese peoples. West China, Tibet, Burma, Tongking, Annam, and Siam are inhabited by many tribes, and it is impossible not to ask such interesting questions as: Who are they? Whence came they? and When? After a residence of more than twenty years in the province of Kweichow, where we have learned something about these tribes, it is our purpose to set down what we know.

103 The two characters *Kwel-chow* as they are now written, and have been written for about six hundred years, mean "Precious or Honourable Region." But eighteen hundred years ago, during the Han dynasty, the name was written

[292]
[177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

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[171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukrainians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

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saw was only about one fifth as large as that now in the Museum, and some of the finest specimens were not then in the collection.

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Within twenty years probably there will be no such embroideries among the Ch'uan Miao. The making of such embroideries takes a great deal of time and often the girl or woman who wears them is ridiculed by less intelligent and unfriendly Chinese who live near them. For these reasons the Ch'uan Miao women are very rapidly adopting a simple Chinese style of embroidery or merely purchasing cheap and gaudy cloth and ribbons in the Chinese markets. The change is taking place so fast that the difference between the clothing worn now and even two years ago is quite noticeable.⁸

IV. SOCIAL RELATIONS

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The family is the social unit. Descent is reckoned through males and the oldest living male is the head of the family. Before a girl marries she belongs to the family of her parents but after marriage she belongs to the family of her husband. While the parents live all the descendants, except females that are married but including the wives of the male descendants, live in the same house. After the death of the parents the children separate and form new families. There is evidence in the legends that formerly the husbands lived with the relatives of their wives so that the families may have been matrilineal.

Sons are more desired than daughters because they remain in the family. Women are considered to be inferior to men but women and girls are appreciated and desired.⁹

There is a larger sense in which the family includes all blood relatives of the same name—fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, uncles, cousins, and so on and their wives and unmarried daughters, but it does not include the women who have married into other families. The importance of this enlarged family can be seen when the memorial and calendar festivals and the intricate list of the ancestors and descendants are noted.

8. The Ch'uan Miao do not wear their best clothing and ornaments at funerals. They are worn at weddings, at feasts and at the memorial services and calendar festivals.

In Savina's book, *Histoire des Miao*, there are pictures of Miao wearing brass chain ornaments hanging from their necks. I have purchased chains like these from the Ch'uan Miao but they are now very rare.

9. In some localities men and women in the same family eat together but the daughter-in-law, because of a sense of shame, does not eat with the rest of the family. A daughter-in-law must not sit down on the same bench with the husband's father, brothers, or uncles but she may with her husband.

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After the parade, playing the *liu shêng* and dancing continues and songs are sung. The singing sometimes becomes a contest to see who can remember and sing the most songs. After each song the singer ties a knot somewhere on the tree or on his person so that after the contest the knots can be counted and the winner determined. Of course during these ceremonies the animal that is sacrificed is cooked, wine, rice, corn and vegetables are added and there is a feast.

VI. THE CALENDAR AND THE CALENDAR FESTIVALS

• [77]

The Ch'uan Miao use the lunar calendar like the Chinese from whom they have probably learned it. There are normally twelve months in the year but sometimes thirteen. The month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Ch'uan Miao are becoming acquainted with the western calendar.

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As among the Chinese, there are twelve creatures with reference to whom lucky and unlucky days are determined. These are the rat, the cow or water-buffalo, the tiger, the hare, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep or goat, the monkey, the cock, the dog and the pig. The hours, days, months and years are controlled by these creatures in succession. The lucky creatures are the cow or water-buffalo, the dragon, the dog, the pig, the sheep or goat, the horse, and the cock. The unlucky are the monkey, the rat, the snake, the hare and the tiger. The days, months and years controlled by the unlucky creatures are unlucky and those controlled by the lucky creatures are lucky. Important journeys should not be begun, sales made or projects started on unlucky days. But engagements should be made on dog and on dragon days, and burials on snake or on rabbit days. The souls of animals are sometimes commemorated in the eleventh moon on cow days.

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The seasonal or calendar festivals are as follows:—

The first day of the first moon, or New Year's Day. New leaves of the tea tree are used to symbolize the fact that the new year has come and tea is made from these leaves. Biscuits or *pa pa* 粿粿 are made of rice, corn, or some other kind of grain and bean curd is cooked. After offering these things to the deceased ancestors, with sweetmeats, the descendants have a family meal at which they eat the same things. The ancestors must be invited to this meal.

The second day of the first moon. On this day the ancestors rest. There are no ceremonies of commemoration and no offerings, although the ancestors are regarded as present. The living play and enjoy themselves.

10516 -- Analysis 1

194 and is the most common and difficult to distinguish.¹⁶

The Chinese language in West China has four tones with five in some localities but in some parts of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi the language spoken has eight or nine tones. There are Ch'uan Miao legends which indicate that they came to Szechwān from Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

193 During recent centuries, the Ch'uan Miao language, like their customs, has been greatly influenced by the Chinese.
177 Take, for instance, the comparative and the superlative of
192 adjectives and adverbs. To make the comparative the word xau is spoken before the positive. To make the superlative the word xAN is spoken after the comparative.

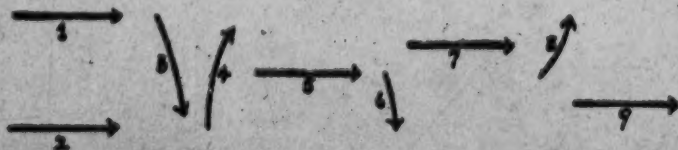
Thus:

positive	comparative	superlative.
ʒo good	xao ʒo better	ʒo xAN best
ʒau poor	xao ʒau poorer	ʒau xAN poorest
ju small	xao ju smaller	ju xAN smallest
lo large	xao lo larger	lo xAN largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, hao for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xAN is the Chinese word xAN 根, hén for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

192 There is a goodly nucleus of Ch'uan Miao words that are non-Chinese and which are to be found in various Miao
177 dialects in Kweichow, Yunnan and even in Tongkin. There are also many words that are evidently of Chinese origin. The Chinese word for chair is 椅子 tzu³. The Ch'uan Miao word is ʒi tʒu³ ʒi tʒo or i-tʒo. The Chinese word for man in Szechwan is 人 ʒAN and the Ch'uan Miao word is nAN. A very common Ch'uan Miao word for love is nia and the Chinese is 爱 (ai). Occasionally a Chinese word that has been adopted is given a slightly different pronunciation and a different tone.

144 16. The following diagram may help to distinguish Ch'uan Miao tones.



823 I can hardly affirm that the Ch'uan Miao believe that the world is flat. The untutored Miao does not know that the world is round, but he sees and climbs and farms so many hills and cliffs and mountains that he regards the world as only comparatively flat. The world has an end somewhere, but he has no conception of its size.

772 Above the sky, or rather on it, is a level land where the souls remain after death with the souls of their ancestors. This paradise is Ntsə ni lau Gau bi or the level land of Ntsə. There are no hills to climb and there is neither sickness nor death. The sun shines every day. Although there are no rainstorms there is no lack of moisture. Those who live there do not farm but find in the forests such things to eat as berries and fruit, as people are supposed to have done on earth in very ancient times. They are given food, clothing and money by their descendants through the memorial and calendar festivals. It is a good place to live in but not as good as this world. There is a ladder to the sky, but ordinarily mortals cannot go up. Some have swooned away and returned and related to their friends what they saw in the level land of Ntsə.

Under this earth there is another world inhabited by dwarfs. These are called in Chinese *sao pa jên* 掃把人 or broom people, because they are as tall as small Chinese brooms or about two feet high. They farm and have their own king, soldiers and government. They live very much as people on this earth, but they have much smaller houses, farms, etc. One Miao fell into dwarfland through a hole in the floor of the emperor's palace, and later came back to the earth through a crack in the ground caused by a drought. When rain finally came, the ground swelled and closed up the crack.

In a special region dragons live or at least the king of dragons lives there. Other stories are told of fishermen who hooked the king of dragons or other dragons with fishhooks in rivers and creeks. To reach the palace of the dragon king it is always necessary to go down through pools of water. When the palace is reached, everything is normal and dry.

There is a 'special' region where demons live where it is always dark. People rarely go there although certain legends describe it.

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775 The Chinese idea of three principal souls or *hun* 魂 and seven lesser souls or *p'o* 魄 is accepted by these people. The *hun* are called in Ch'uan Miao *pl'ei* and the *p'o* are called *mp'o*. Of the three principal souls, one remains in the tomb, one goes to Ntsə's level country. One stays among the beams under the roof of the house. On the other hand, one is supposed to be reincarnated. The ideas of reincarnation and of the three *hun* and seven *p'o* were learned evidently from the Chinese; my impression is that they have not been well assimilated.

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1. Charms were drawn above the water in a porcelain bowl. This was done by moving the fingers above the water in the bowl.

2. The hands were then twisted about in several ways.

3. A circular tube was made of paper and set upright in the bowl of water. Then it was lighted and allowed to burn down to the water.

4. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of calling his gods. As a result his gods came and assisted him in his ceremonies.

5. The *yin yang kua* 陰陽卦 were thrown until a favorable result was secured. This was a means of consulting the gods.

6. The *tuan kung* went through a ceremony of going down into Hades.

7. The demons were invited to come or were enticed or escorted into a large round winnowing basket called a *po chi*.

8. The demons were ceremonially exorcised or driven away.

9. The *ma chiao* caught and killed the demon who was causing the disease.

The implements of the *tuan kung* were,

1. A small brass circle, hollow inside. There were small metal objects inside the circle that caused it to jingle when shaken.

2. A knife.

3. An iron implement, a circle with an iron handle and with several small circles around the larger one. This jingles when used and is exactly like the one used by a Chinese *tuan kung*.

4. A wooden *ling p'ai* 令牌, tongue-shaped, with charms carved on both sides of it. This is also like the one used by the Chinese *tuan kung* and by Buddhist and Taoist priests.

5. An iron seal on which there are Chinese characters. It is also exactly like those used by Chinese *tuan kung* and priests.

6. A pair of scissors used for cutting spirit money etc.

7. A pair of *yin yang kua* made of the two halves of a bamboo root. This is used for divining and is like those used by Chinese priests.

8. A neolithic stone axe, the bottom of which has been ground away and used as medicine.

9. Three sticks of incense and two candles.

10. A *shing* 升 or quart of rice or corn.

11. A bowl of water.

12. A bowl of wine.

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The practices of the Chinese *tuan kung* are very much like those of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*. The *tuan kung* among

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177 the Chinese is regarded as heretical and looked down upon, but the *tuan kung* of the Ch'uan Miao is orthodox and honored. Their practices are so similar that it is natural to suppose that either the Chinese *tuan kung* and his practices were borrowed from the Miao or vice-versa. From the fact that the Chinese *tuan kung* is heretical and is looked down upon while the opposite is true of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung*, it seems probable that the Chinese was borrowed from the Miao. But there are many details in the practices of the Ch'uan Miao *tuan kung* that have evidently been borrowed in recent times from the Chinese *tuan kung* and possibly through him from Buddhist and Taoist priests.

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787 There is occasionally met among the Ch'uan Miao a prophet or fortune-teller who is sometimes wrongly confused with the *tuan kung* for the *tuan kung* does sometimes divine the future by means of the two halves of a bamboo root called *yin yang kua*. This fortune-teller is called a *so bau*. *So* means first or previously and *bau* means to know or understand. Such people sometimes live in caves or in houses in the woods. They say their ancestors are in their homes so they will not permit anybody to enter. Inside there can often be heard voices of people talking or laughing or crying. If a person *q ou v seap* a present of meat, a chicken, wine, biscuits, money, or something else, he will foretell. All Ch'uan Miao believe in the *so bau* and some fear them.

Divination is practiced by the *tuan kung*. He sometimes receives messages from departed ancestors and from demons. When go-betweens have been called by the boy's parents they kill a chicken to eat and also examine the tongue, the bones, etc; and so divine whether or not the marriage will be lucky. Other methods of divination are through dreams and through lucky and unlucky omens.

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787 Whatever is told in a dream is believed to be true. In addition many things seen in a dream are signs that certain things will happen. If in a dream one sees a person carrying wood, the next day he will see a poor person; if he sees a tiger, the next day a rich man will come to visit; if he sees a bird, he will have a quarrel; if he sees a rat or a monkey, a house will burn down; if he sees a pig, he will become ill; if he sees somebody wearing red clothes, he will probably get hurt; if he sees a fire burning, a house or something else, the weather will be fair; if he sees a heavy rain wind, his ancestors are hungry and want him to feed them; if he sees a water-buffalo, he will become rich; if he sees a horae, somebody will die; if he sees good vegetables, he will become ill and have to take medicine; if he sees a black snake, a son will be born; if he sees finger rings or bracelets, or both, or a tobacco pipe, a son will be born to him; if he sees a big tree die, or the sun or moon set, or a tree fall, or snow falling, a parent will probably die.

774 A year is believed to be a living thing with a head like
778 that of a human being. The *liu shêng* is alive and when it
is played it is actually speaking. Mountains have heads, feet,
hands, eyes, noses, ears, hearts, breasts, veins and arteries.
A plain is male and female and has a mouth; a heart, arteries,
veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents.
Stones are male and female, grow, have offspring and can
speak. Special stones have become immortals. The echo is
a living being that can speak. He has a definite character
and the words he speaks are generally deceptive. Thunder is
a living creature. In size and shape it is like a rooster. It
is small but very powerful. Its call or cry is the noise of
thunder. It has a knife of fire which it throws and this is
lightning. It is this knife that causes the damage when
lightning strikes a person, an animal or a tree.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things are
alive or have lives, but they find it difficult to affirm that all
inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent,
active and have eyes. Is this animatism or animatism plus
animism, or is there no one word that accurately describes it?

177 The greatest changes in all their history are now taking
797 place among the Ch'uan Miao. In 1921, when I first visited
563 these people, I was unable to find a single school or pupil
among them and the attitude of the Chinese towards the
Ch'uan Miao and of the Ch'uan Miao towards the Chinese was
very unfriendly, as it had been for about four thousand years.
Now there are under the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung
sixteen junior primary Ch'uan Miao schools and one senior
primary school. A Ch'uan Miao graduate of the junior middle
school at Chaotung is now in the school of nursing of the
United Church of Canada Hospital in Chungking and there are
two students in the Goucher Junior Middle School of the West
China Union University. The Chinese and the Ch'uan Miao
have become very friendly and the Chinese officials and
scholars are glad to help the Ch'uan Miao. Four students and
one graduate of the West China Union University gave the
money that makes it possible for one Ch'uan Miao student to
attend the Goucher Junior Middle School. The Government
of Szechwan has given the Ch'uan Miao school educational
books and an organ and the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang
Kai Shek have presented to the Ch'uan Miao a fine bull, five
fine cockerels, thirty apple trees and some garden seed.

The Ch'uan Miao are not only a very likeable people but
they are very appreciative, are industrious, and they are eager
for modern education and higher culture. With the continued
help of the United Methodist Mission at Chaotung, the West
China Union University, Government agencies and the Chinese
people, they can become an enlightened race that will be an
asset to China as the Welsh and the Scotch are an asset to
the British Empire.

Some Ch'wan Miao Characteristics.—The Ch'wan Miao are a very isolated, segregated, financially poor group of people almost certainly with no European contacts. They live in the mountains at an elevation of about 3,000 feet. They are mainly an agricultural people, although they are also pastoral and some are hunters. They travel entirely on foot. Their crops are mainly maize and rice. They eat very little meat (mostly mutton) and few vegetables; their chief diet is maize and/or rice. 105

The Ch'wan Miao have been permeated very considerably by the culture of the Chinese and the grade of that culture is not low. Given equal advantages the Miao are as intellectual as the Chinese. Some students, under great handicaps, have persevered and graduated from our University. 177

They have a distinct unwritten language, which differs markedly from the Chinese. Many of the males are bilingual. Their folklore, songs and music are distinct from those of the Chinese. They have a peculiar bamboo wind-instrument; it consists of a body of a bamboo tube 6-8 inches long by 3 inches in diameter. To the centre of 534

[P. 67a]

[11 cont.]

764 On the third day comes "fa-sang" [burial]. In former times the body was wrapped in a straw mat, but now it is laid in a coffin. This is the result of Chinese influence and practiced by those who live near the Chinese. At the time of burial, a small tree of about ten feet long is split in two, its bark peeled off and the two ends tied with ropes. The corpse is then placed on it and carried away on the shoulders. When the procession leaves the house the filial son walks in front, followed by the women mourners, whose long, show laments and plaintive cries are too sad to hear. Arriving at a mountain spot they dig the earth [12] to make a well, the four walls of which are lined with stone slabs. Into the well the coffin is lowered. If the body is wrapped in a straw mat, its two sides are left empty. On the top of the well more stone slabs are laid and then some earth. The tombs are all laid crosswise, hence the expression, "hêng Miao, tao Ch'i-lao [crosswise Miao and upside down Ch'i-lao]. After burial the guests all return to their respective homes. 766 The Miao are superstitiously prejudiced against repeat figures 777 in the age of the deceased, such as 22 or 33, believing that these [801] figures would cause the dead to receive extra punishment in the spirit world and at the same time bring bad luck to the family. To overcome this mishap they jack up the coffin in some deep mountain, without letting it touch the earth on the theory that in so doing the spirit of the dead would not be admitted that year to the spirit world. In similar instances the Ch'ing Miao, whose dead is wrapped up in a straw mat, would hang the corpse high up on some lofty cliff in some wild area without letting it touch the earth to avoid damnation.

5. Culture

796 1) Religion. There is strictly no religion to speak of among [771] the Miao-I in Kweichow. After living in the mountain village, they have come to respect the forest behind it, which they call [782] "hou lung" [back dragon] and once every spring they offer sacrifice to the mountain forest. After the sacrifice they

[26 cont.]

774 ghost, the sand-throwing ghost [27], the shadow ghost, the half-
 776 way ghost, the ghost of pestilence, the soul-infatuating ghost,
 the passing ghost, the four-path Buddha-ghost, the idle ghost,
 the short-legged ghost and the wall ghost. Among all these ghosts
 the thunder spirit and the tiger ghost are the most wicked and the
 most awesome. This belief is evidently influenced by geographic
 environments. Living in high precipitous mountains under primi-
 tive conditions, these people cannot help being struck with fear.
 each time thunder roars and lightning flashes. Furthermore, in
 the thick and deep forests, fierce animals inspire additional awe
 in them. All these objects being so terrible in their physical
 form; their spirit form must be even more mysterious and
 frightening. Another point worthy of notice is the fact that the
 177 gods they worship are greatly influenced by the Chinese. For
 776 instance, the Jade Emperor, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Kwan-ti
 and Yo Fei are not native gods of the Hê Miao. The tablet of
 Shen-nung erected by farmers next to their ancestral tablets, the
 God of Wealth worshipped by merchants, Lo Pan [a clever artisan
 of the spring and autumn period] worshipped by artisans, T'ai-shang
 lao-chün [title of Laotzu, here considered as a supreme Taoist
 god] worshipped by blacksmiths, Lei-tsu [traditionally, wife of
 the yellow emperor and originator of sericulture] worshipped by
 weavers -- all these come from Chinese sources.

756 In their intercourse with the spirits they need a medium,
 who is the shaman or wizard. The position of the priest among
 the Short-skirt Hê Miao is not hereditary, and politically and
 socially it does not command any special respect and authority.
 Anyone who feels that a spirit has seized hold of him becomes
 spiritually possessed and may proclaim himself a shaman. After
 this proclamation he would be professionally approached. There
 is no limitation of age for the priest. Some women too assume
 the role of a shaman, but they are comparatively rare. An
 ordinary village would have at least one priest, and a larger
 village, two or three. The duties of a priest may be enumerated
 as follows:

755 1) To attend to sickness. In the eyes of primitive peoples,
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[130]

The Ancestral Myth of the Sheng Miao

Ch'en Kuo-chün

1. Who are the Sheng Miao?

101 The Sheng (wild) Miao and the Shu (assimilated) Miao are
 184 two antithetical terms, with which the early scholars distinguished
 the various Miao tribes. These two names are self-explanatory.
 The Sheng Miao are those Miao who live in the wild and distant
 mountains without any intercourse with the Chinese. Their
 nature is wild and cannot be disciplined; their foods are hard
 and uncooked. The Shu Miao, on the other hand, reside in the
 [177] nearby mountains, where they learn to speak the Chinese lan-
 guage and trade with the Chinese. They plant and cultivate the
 land in almost the same way as the Chinese. Originally, be-
 fore the Miao were civilized they were all vaguely called the
 Sheng-Miao. But after the lapse of a great deal of time, the
 Chinese population in the Miao areas increased and their rela-
 tions with the Miao became closer so that a part of the Miao
 who were assimilated by the Chinese became known as the Shu
 Miao. The other part of the Miao who were backward and unas-
 similated continued to be called Sheng Miao. The "Man-chuan"
 [Record of the Savages] in the Kweichow T'ung-chih [Kweichow
 Gazetteer] says: "Those Miao who have t'u-ssu [headmen] are
 the Shu Miao, and those without them are the Sheng Miao."
 This division is based upon the fact whether they are ruled by
 native chieftains or not. Again, according to Hu Ting's "Miao-
 Man pu-lo k'ao" [Studies in the Miao and Man Tribes] in
Li-p'ing-fu chih [Gazetteer of Li-p'ing Prefecture]: "As to the
 Miao those who live near the fu [prefecture] and
 hsien [county] areas are the Shu Miao; they pay taxes and
 contribute labor more or less like the Chinese. Those not living
 in these places are the Sheng Miao, who however greatly out-
 101 number the Shu Miao." Later, as the Miao society progressed, the
 Shu Miao gradually outnumbered the Sheng Miao, who were
 confined to certain remote areas. Regarding the various Miao

[146 cont.]

773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
 776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous marriage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is common with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among 773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively [177] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages [551] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of [588] incestuous union among them.

CHAPTER III

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642 troops were brought over to supply skilled makers of
M poison for the arrow tips used by the Manchu-Chinese
175 army. After the suppression was completed, these Miao
563 decided to or were left to settle in Hai-nan, and their de-
648 scendants are to be found in a few small villages on Hai-
nan. 66

During the last 500 or 600 years since the Mongol
Dynasty, the Miao have been subjected to two aggressive
outside influences exerted by the Han-Chinese which have
steadily reduced their numbers and restricted their terri-
tories. These were cultural assimilation on the one hand,
and suppression and extermination on the other. There was
hardly any time during the Ming and Ch'ing periods when
suppression or pacification campaigns were not being un-
dertaken against the Miao and the Yao. In the major sup-
pression campaigns in the uprisings of 1698, 1732, 1794,
and 1855, the Miao scattered in all directions, initiating
the migratory movements of the modern period. (The
Chin Ch'uan or Gold River uprisings concern the Fan and
will be discussed in connection with the Lolo.) Moreover,
these campaigns were prosecuted with even greater vigor
than the "land development" programs of the T'ang and
the Sung Dynasties. Each time, large armies penetrated
deep into the Miao territories, first to slaughter and mas-
sacre, then to expel, and in sum, to exterminate. After
seizing and occupying the lands of the Miao and Yao, Han-
Chinese were brought in to settle and cultivate the fields.
The expelled remnant that escaped extermination no longer
found a spacious hinterland into which to escape, and
had to make the best of it by collecting in the high hill
lands. The result of succeeding centuries was the push-
ing of the Miao into a restricted area of mountain land
considered of little value by Han-Chinese.⁶⁸ (The paral-
lel situation with respect to the American treatment of
the Indians is noteworthy.)

The last great uprising of the Kuei-chou Miao was
associated with a Mohammedan revolt in Yun-nan, when
both Miao and Muslim took advantage of the beginning
T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and of general discontent
with Manchu rule to throw off the control of the central
administration. The Miao and Muslim revolts were not
coordinated events and were put down by Governor-Gener-
al Lo Jao-tien of Yun-nan and Kuei-chou in 1853. The
uprisings burst out anew the following year when the Miao
plundered the Districts of T'ung-tzu and Jen-huai and en-

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Miao AES
Laotians AM8

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

boy's pockets lay strewn about; the lengths of string, the broken^M
penknives, the buttons, the mirror glass, the tins, the bottles and³⁴²
the burned out lamp bulbs. Here was accumulated the jackdaw¹⁸¹
harvesting, the valuable glittering rubbish which was all a Meo
wanted of civilization, and which he was free to take, while leaving
the civilization itself severely alone. What foolish, generous people,
these town-dwellers were!

Our host's wife, a child of fifteen, was lying with her baby on^M
a heap of rags in the corner. The baby was sick, he said, but the⁷⁵⁸
only thing necessary was to keep it away from the light — and air —¹⁶⁵
as much as possible. Most Meo babies die in their first two years,
and one wonders what would have happened by now to the fertile
land of Indo-China, if they didn't.

There was a gun in the corner — a muzzle-loader of the kind it^M
takes a Meo two years to make. They are copied from the guns⁴¹¹
first supplied by the Jesuits to the Chinese, but are turned out by¹⁷⁷
an endlessly laborious process involving boring out a solid bar by
twirling a white hot iron in it. It was enormously long, like an old-
fashioned Arab stove-pipe gun, and when Dupont took notice of
it the Meo offered to show it to him in use. We went outside and
he loaded it with powder and shot he made himself. This process
took about five minutes. Before pressing the trigger he warned us
to stand well away because of the muzzle blast. The target was a
small banana-leaf, skewered against a bank at twenty paces. There
was a tremendous bang when he fired, but the leaf remained intact.
He blamed this on the maize-spirit which we had just drunk, and
was quite delighted when Dupont, giving a demonstration with
his American light carbine, also missed.

There were no dogs at all at this village. They were all down at⁰⁰⁰
the poppy fields with their owners, the Meo said.

Luang Prabang lies at the end of a long, curling descent from the^L
mountains and through smoking bamboo groves, on the banks of³⁶¹
the Mekong. It is built into a tongue of land formed by the con-

[152 cont.]

539 lot is otherwise so hard. Below are given two extracts from "Méo"
songs, borrowed from the work of P. Marabail (op. cit., pp. 296
and 298):

539 1. Love song:

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The Young Man. — One is born only once. As the bee
and the butterfly go far off in search of flowers, so human creatures
are obliged to make long journeys to seek out those beings with whom
they should unite. In like fashion we two are of different villages
and yet we are about to wed. It is Heaven that has so willed it, He
who is just and is never mistaken.

The Young Woman. — No, we are like the reed and
the plum tree, which are separated by long distances. Don't make
fun of it in that way. But since you tell me of the example of the
bees, we have only to follow it. Wait for me then this evening at
nightfall and I shall take care not to miss the rendezvous.

2. Prayer:

539 May we have an abundant harvest of maize! May the
782 wind blow with moderation and the rain fall with regularity! Then
more than a hundred plants will give rich harvests. Thus the
mandarins will have a tranquil people to rule. Oh, that these de-
sires may be completely realized! Let us beat the drum to celebrate
autumn.

291 The costume of the men scarcely varies from one tribe to an-
other (see photo 204, Plate 38, in which representatives of various
"Méo" tribes of Upper Tonkin appear). It consists of a jacket which
buttons [153] usually in front of the right shoulder as well as on the
side, and goes down just below the hips, a long pantaloon falling
to the feet and held up by a belt, a turban of variable size, wrapped
in a haphazard fashion.

[177] Among those tribes which are in direct contact with the Chinese,
the masculine costume approaches that of the Chinese, the jacket
buttons in front by means of a variable number of braided loops and
buttons and the turban is often replaced by a small skullcap.

The "Méo" usually go about barefooted. Some wear sandals
with soles of rattan or bamboo fiber, or even the Chinese heelless

[161 cont.]

177 Since cultivation and the treatment of hemp is difficult and
439 complicated, the "Méo" are adopting little by little the use of cotton
294 materials which they buy in the markets from natives of the other
groups. Likewise the women purchase from the Chinese merchants
needles, multicolored thread and silk, glass decorations, and so on,
used in their embroidery.

531 The art of embroidery, of which some of our photographs give
294 us an idea, is developed to a degree of perfection one does not ex-
868 pect to find among these tribes, who in other respects are rather
primitive. The young girls are trained from an early age in this
delicate art, and they themselves prepare all the very richly deco-
rated pieces of their wedding costumes.

273 The "Méo" make alcohol from rice or maize, either by fer-
mentation or by distillation. For the latter process, they make use of
the stills already described.

317 The "Méo" of the sector of Thanthuy carry on an important
439 commerce in coffin wood, a fossilized wood which has become proof
against rotting and is much sought after by the Chinese for making
coffins.

326 The "Méo" armorers manufacture guns with very long barrels,
[411] of a model analogous to those of the "Man." The "Méo" know how to
make powder. They carry it in a small powder flask of horn, sus-
pended from the neck by a cord on which colored glass beads are
strung. They are adroit [162] and fearless hunters. They do not
224 fear to confront panthers and bears with their rudimentary weapons.
Those of them who are enrolled in the corps of partisans charged
with guarding the frontier, and who, as a result, are armed with
a model 1874 rifle, demonstrate remarkable skill in hunting wild
beasts, firing only when certain of making a kill in order to econo-
mize their precious ammunition. (We have had to pay the "Méo"
partisans relatively large sums for the destruction of harmful animals,
because of the bounty of 10 piasters for each panther killed.)

226 The "Méo" are not fishermen, fish being relatively rare in the
262 upper reaches of the mountain torrents. Nevertheless, they eat fish
(fresh or dried) when they have the opportunity.

252 face, crowned with the halo of their wide turban, and a throat panting
 243 with the effort just accomplished, together with their ballerina skirts
 462 flapping about their bare legs-- the general effect of all this at the foot of
 a rocky cliff makes a picture to tempt the brush of a Miller.

Section 7

Way of Life--Intellectual State--

Religious Ideas--Custom Relating to Birth, Marriage,
and Death--Religious Ideas

181 The Meo likes his independence very much. However, he is
 • 177 less uncouth than the Man in his dealings with the French. It is not
 609 impossible to make a soldier of him and the creation of the small posts,
 701 linh co, of this race have been entirely successful. In 1904 about forty
 of them were incorporated into the "Tonkinese Tirailleurs" at Mao Lac,
 but this attempt gave less satisfactory results because of their antipathy
 to life in the barracks. In the future we should be satisfied with having
 them enter the police forces of the frontier.

871 The Meo, while somewhat crude, are not entirely without
 153 intelligence. A school was founded in March 1903 at the military
 post of Phobang, made up of young Meo and Lolo, and at the end of
 a year most of them, and especially the Lolo, already were reading
 correctly and were beginning to write little phrases in French. From
 this experiment one might at last conclude that these peoples are
 capable of a certain intellectual culture.

262 /141/ The Meo's method of living is of the simplest. His usual
 252 food is maize, he eats meat only on the occasion of festivities, but
 415 then he is not forbidden to eat the flesh of the dog, as are the Man. Maize
 is cooked by steaming. It is eaten at home with an abundance of
 vegetables, but for meals while traveling, or in the fields, small cakes
 are made of it. A porcelain spoon is the only instrument used in
 bringing food to the mouth.

276 Although the cultivation of the opium poppy is very widespread
 [249] among the Meo, he uses very little of it himself. On the other hand,
 almost all smoke tobacco, either in a water pipe, or in a pipe similar
 to our own. The tobacco prepared by them looks like French tobacco,
 but is very much stronger. Neither men nor women chew betel. Far
 301 from lacquering their teeth, they take a certain pride in having them
 56 brilliantly white and go so far as to carry their tooth-brushes hanging
 from their necklaces.

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SIAM

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men and the generally dirty and sparsely-clad women, to whose frowsy appearance and unwashed Mongoloid faces the traveller in this part of the world has grown accustomed, there appears a neat and sturdy people, in whose features the Mongolian type is slightly modified; of a bright, cleanly and intelligent appearance, and of industrious habits. They are divided into eleven, some say twelve, clans the majority of which are not, however, represented in Siam, and from long contact have acquired many points of resemblance with the Chinese of Yunnan, the most remarkable of which are their language and the abbreviated pigtailed and the costume of the men. The dress of the women varies greatly in the different clans, and borrows nothing from the Chinese. The men wear loose trousers and short coat, a waist-band, sometimes with embroidered tassels, and a large blue turban occasionally replaced by a Chinese cap fitting close to the head. All carry an embroidered bag which serves as a capacious pocket, and many go armed with a dah, or sword, and a cross-bow. The women of the clans found in Siam wear a pleated skirt descending below the knees, and a cross-over coat embroidered at the edges, with sleeves down to the wrist. They also wear a many-coloured turban and sometimes swathe their legs in strips of cloth as a protection against thorns. The women wear their hair in a top-knot which, however, is usually concealed by the turban. McCarthy records that in one of the clans the coiffure of the ladies is an elaborate affair kept in position with beeswax and so constructed as to last for several years without remaking. They have very little jewellery but both sexes often wear a silver torque, to which a pendant inscribed with Chinese characters is sometimes attached.

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With the advance of the French across the Mekong Siam has lost the greater part of her Meao subjects, but a certain number of villages are to be found in the province of Nan and in other parts of Northern Siam,

THE RACES OF SIAM

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and as the long-prevailing southward and westward movement of the various clans of this people still continues, more communities are continually being established within the present Siamese border.

The Meao live in strongly-built houses with timber or mud walls and stone floors, generally perched on or near the crest of the highest available mountains. They use a rough bedstead, stools and tables, all of which are conspicuously absent from the houses of the Kaché. Their agriculture is carried on in forest clearings on the sides of the mountains on which they have their settlements, and they grow rice, maize, tobacco, hemp, vegetables of sorts and opium. They keep cattle, goats and a few ponies. The women are much occupied with weaving and embroidery, the results of their labour being often of artistic value. The Meao are monogamists and their marriages, which are usually preceded by a period of irregular co-habitation, are accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. Their religion is the usual spirit-worship, observed by means of sacrifice, by heavy eating and by the copious drinking of rough, strong spirit distilled from rice. They practise burial of the dead, and their custom of placing a white cock beside the corpse to do battle with the great lizard supposed to bar the passage of the soul to paradise may possibly denote some remote connection with the Chinbok tribes far away to the west, on the other side of Burma. The Meao say they once had a written character but have lost it. They now use the Chinese, in which a small proportion of their men are proficient. They also use the Chinese calendar. There appears no reason to warrant affiliation of the Meao with the races of Môn-Annam stock, while language, customs and, to some extent, appearance, seem to hint at connection with the Tibeto-Burman races. They are therefore now included among the latter, though subsequent investigation may possibly prove such classification quite wrong.

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AKha AO4
Miao AES

/64 cont. /

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526 br kum mba of the Meau is none other than our game
A of hide-and-seek. One child closes his eyes while the others
hide. The one who /65/ is found first must close his eyes next.
[526] The Akha children also like this game.

The Meau girls are very fond of a circle game (Ill. 71).¹
in which the girls hold hands and whirl about in a circle.

Scott (1) has observed another game. Two girls put their

1. II, p. 275.

feet against each other, hold hands, lean way back, and whirl
around rapidly in a circle, as in our "Tellerreiben."

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526 A swing-game that I found among the Akha is described
in the same way by Abadie (2) for the Meau, among whom I

2. Page 169.

did not find this game: "The Meau children often /Fig. 7 ap-
pears here/ play with the rotating swing." He adds that the
M
[177] Meau probably adopted this game from the Chinese, an opinion
to which I do not subscribe.

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526 The swing of the Akha is constructed somewhat differ-
ently from the one used by us. The board is pierced, and
drawn through the hole and fastened, there is a rope or usually
a twisted liana, which leads between the legs of the person
swinging to a branch or any crossbeam to which the swing is
fastened. Moreover, one does not swing to and fro, but twists
around his own axis. Then he lets himself unwind in the
opposite direction until the rope has resumed its natural position.
"Our" swing, too, however, is found among the Akha. A rope
or rattan is tied at both ends to a fence or a tree and forms the
seat (Fig. 7).

Among the Akha, sen to ni¹ is the name of the game that
we call blindman's buff, and it is played according to exactly
the same rules as among us.

¹[Sec. at. 116, p 513- ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/75 cont. /

M thread attached to them, but are later freed. Since the
 231 children are very skilled manually, these animals usually
 [857] suffer no harm, and the adults, who are very fond of animals,
 [516] have no reason to interfere. They laugh heartily when they
 notice that the children treat the animal as if it were one of
 them.

M I could not find confirmation for Abadie's statement (1)

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1. Page 169.

that the Meau train monkeys and travel around with them as jugglers. I presume that the Meau involved were extensively Sinicized.

A Among the Akha the relationship between man and animal
 231 is not as good. The Akha are much more brutal with
 [157] animals, which, to be sure, they do not treat unjustly, but
 simply without love and harshly. The dogs in the Akha villages
 have a beaten appearance, are thievish, although they are
 fed, and receive, never unwarranted, to be sure, but cruelly
 harsh punishments. The Akha, who, in contrast to the Meau,
 eat dogs, regard the dogs simply as prospective roasts. I only
 rarely saw children actually play with a dog, but repeatedly
 observed that they tortured the animals without interference
 on the part of the adults, just as I never came across adults
 admonishing children to have a more humane attitude. In
 one instance a boy about four years old repeatedly kicked a
 small dog that was completely at his mercy and could not
 run away. /76/ The adults sat there indifferently, and the
 boy would certainly have kicked the animal to death if I had
 not finally prevented him from doing so.

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On the other hand, the Akha have a striking predilection
 for beautiful birds, especially for parrots and lovebirds, which
 they capture and keep in cages or on perches (see Ill. 49 and
 the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen
 Utensils," Figs. 199 and 200). These birds, as well as the
 wood pigeons used as decoys, are well cared for; the children
 play with them and regard them as delightful housemates.

1/2 [sec cat 116, p 334 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/107 cont. /

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123 had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not approve of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man barely eighteen years old, in order to get his version of the story, he complained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me. If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

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[622]
[627] With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman returned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help her parents with the work as often as they wished.

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[606] The position of young Meau wives has been strongly influenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married several wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually, when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the coveted position of the nă thǎ. As soon as her husband has built his own house, the position of the young wife improves, for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the Meau within the family community, however, the members of a household community generally get along very well. Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

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[422] Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play such an important role in the life of the young woman, the first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her unquestioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/117 cont./

764 former times. No gifts are added to the coffin. The grave is now closed again with stones and earth; sometimes a mound is formed, sometimes it remains flat. It also happens that a simple fence is erected around the grave site or the grave mound. Often the grave is also covered with leaves which are weighted down with sticks and stones. This is supposed to be [825] the most effective way to prevent wild animals from digging up the corpse. If the location of the grave is to be kept secret, the earth which remains after the grave is closed is scattered, and in a few hours nothing remains to suggest a burial site.

[766] In no case, not even in connection with the death of prominent Meau, are forked posts or megaliths erected.

764 After the burial a sacrifice is offered. In the case of a poor man, pigs or merely chickens are slaughtered without much ceremony or ado. If he were a rich man, however, the 782 sacrifice consists of an ox or a buffalo. Even during the 556 slaughtering, the playing of the mouth organs, the gongs, and, 533 if such are available, the drums begins and continues uninter- 775 ruptedly until the meat of the sacrificial animal is completely cut up and the soul of the deceased has been invited to enjoy itself. This is followed by dancing to the mouth organs, which ends the funeral. During the following three days additional sacrifices are offered to the soul of the deceased by [775] putting food on the grave, since it is assumed that during this period it stays in the vicinity of the grave (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section "Ideas about Death and the Soul").

[766] The manner of burial is basically the same for men, women, and children, with no differences other than that the 554 sacrifices characterize the social rank of the deceased. Moreover, depending on the rank of the deceased, more or fewer mourners appear. Abadie (1) confirms this and describes the

1. Page 168.

764 burial of a very distinguished Meau chief, which, he says, 766 was just as simple as that of a humble man, except for the 177 coffin for which, following the Chinese custom, a non-rotting, petrified wood was used.

AKha A04
Miao AES

/129 cont. /

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The silver ornaments of the Meau (chapter on "Clothing and /130/ Ornaments," Fig. 211 to Fig. 227), as well as those of the Akha (Fig. 239 to Fig. 253 of the same chapter), are sometimes decorated with attractive incised designs. The chasing technique by means of which spiral designs /Fig. 15 appears here/ are produced on the silver scabbards for daggers (Fig. 15) and the embossing technique occasionally used on bracelets may have been borrowed from the Thai peoples, but the fact remains that the Meau silversmiths are quite able to compete with the Thai ornaments in beauty of workmanship, even though the Meau men practice these difficult techniques just as casually as even the most famous women produce their batik designs.

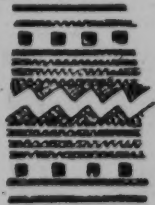


Fig. 14. Incised decoration on girl's pipe of the Akha. 2/1 nat. size.

For test purposes, as has been mentioned, I had drawings made by both sexes. In the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Art in the Life of the Children," I have described the guiding principles that I followed in this. These drawings provided an interesting insight into the drawing talents of the Akha as well as of the Meau.

In all the drawings, with the possible exception of Fig. 18, the complete lack of composition is striking. Only individual objects, animals, plants, or little scenes from daily /131/ life are ever represented. As a result many drawings are upside down or sideways. Usually one cannot determine by himself where the artist actually imagined the top or the bottom of the sheet to be. Actually, they focused their attention exclusively on that part of the drawing on which they were working at the moment. As soon as this was finished, the sheet was turned so that an adjacent free area of the sheet could be comfortably worked on, regardless of the position of the last drawing.

Akha as well as Meau men showed a special preference for representations of animals of the hunt and domestic animals; in addition, implements, weapons, and occasionally scenes

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/143 cont. /

A sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among
 M the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the
 533 different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours
 [832] and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other
 [854] hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when
 the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his
 son around on his back.

A Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing
 [535] is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls dur-
 [832] ing their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance
 simultaneously (III. 24) and thereby attract the attention of the
 A young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs
 M or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.
 [177]

All these observations show that both tribes, but espe-
 cially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions,
 which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life
 of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When
 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

538 stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for sing-
 ing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding
 (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M That the Meau love music can be seen from their pre-
 534 dilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instru-
 [533] ments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their
 love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II. p. 311.

M Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked
 [237]
 [114]
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2. Page 168.

1 [See cat 116, p 124 - ANALYST]

/147/

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[177]

Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be

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used for communication over great distances. On the other hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are

ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies. /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

[202]



28 29

Fig. 28-29.

Vibrating flute

of the Meau. 1/9

nat. size. Fig. 28,

from above, Fig. 29,

side view and blow-hole.

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Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians. Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

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AKha A04
Miao AE5

/147 cont. /

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- piece when the animal moves. These bamboo bells presumably are of Laotian origin. Moreover, there are wooden bells (Fig. 33). In this case several wooden clappers in the body of the bell swing on a wooden stick stuck through it. In addition heavy thick-walled brass bells, presumably of Chinese origin, are used (Fig. 34); there are also little silver bells which are attached to the scratching pins (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments," Figs. 226 and 227).

A The Akha, like the Meau, are very good at whistling with
M the /148/ lips, between the teeth, or with two fingers. Some-
533 times they also blow on grass blades or leaf strips which they



30



31

Fig. 30. Bronze gong of the Meau, decorated with red and black cloth strips. 1/6 nat. size. The gong stick is made of wood wrapped with cloth.

Fig. 31. Magic rattle of the Meau. 1/6 nat. size. From two to 20 little iron plates differing in size are strung on an iron ring, and when the rattle is shaken by the handle, they make considerable noise.

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hold between the thumbs. This technique is used especially in order to attract game (see the chapter, "Meaus of Subsistence," section on "Hunting"). /Figs. 32-35 appear here. / The bursting of large flowers and leaves, which is reminiscent of the similar amusement of European children, who use paper bags for it, is to be regarded more as play.

/156 cont. /

know. They believe in a fantastic mythical animal that lives
 771 in the water, the dragon 'Long-Wang,' and, finally, they
 776 worship the hearth spirit, 'Tsao-Chen.'" Abadie (3) reports the

[114]

3. Page 168.

same almost verbatim, but adds that the Meau actually have no religion at all and manifest an independence toward the deities just as they do toward human beings.

Both authors come to the conclusion that "the Meau do not live in constant fear of invisible evil spirits that are filled with hatred against the human beings. They wander unconcerned through their mountains entirely without prejudice." I, too, was struck by this character trait, especially as a great contrast to the attitude of the Lahu. In other respects, however,
 [114] the opinion of these authors differs radically from that of the
 [777] Catholic missionary, Savina (4), who wants to see the god of

4. II. p. 253.

heaven of the Meau /157/ elevated to a high god and, correspondingly, the other spirits reduced to minor spirits without influence, in such a way that then the conceptions of the Meau seem to harmonize very well with those of Catholicism: "The Meau never confuse spirits with God, do not ascribe any divine powers to them, and do not pay homage to them as they do to God."

• 777 Maspero takes the opposite view: "The religion of the
 771 Meau has been strongly influenced by Chinese Taoism. The
 776 native sorcerers are almost the pupils of the Taoist ones.
 [114] Every family reveres the hearth god, as well as Kouan-yin
 [782] as the protector of the house. At the beginning of the year
 sacrifices are offered to heaven and earth, and in the course
 of the year almost all the great Chinese festivals are celebrated.
 Moreover, the Meau are familiar with the transmigration of
 [775] souls. The evil ones are banished into hell, where Ni-wan,
 the Chinese Ye-wang, presides. There is also a realm of the
 dead which is similar to the realm of the living."

/161 cont. X

775 not died. This information strongly suggests a knowledge of
 [761] apparent death. While the corpse is rotting in the grave, the
 soul keeps the shape of the deceased. Nevertheless the souls
 are not feared, not even those of powerful chiefs or shamans,
 as long as they belong to the sib. Since they know no abode
 other than that of ordinary men and women, there is no realm
 of souls.

775 Only in dreams does a dead person appear to a living one.
 787 Such appearances are impossible in the waking state and are
 not limited to seasons or times of day. The appearance of a dead
 person means only that the soul is hungry and in need of sacri-
 fices, which are then quickly offered.

614 In general, the souls of the dead of alien sibs are not
 775 feared either. There is one exception, however. During the
 776 three days after interment when every soul remains unprotected,
 825 so to speak, in the neighborhood of the grave, it may happen
 that it is dragged into the jungle by evil spirits and is transformed
 there into a man-eating tiger. If such a tiger is shot, evil
 spirits take the soul with them. In time it turns into an evil
 spirit which causes harm. Such evil spirits are dangerous for
 people who do not belong to the sib, and only for them. If the
 track of a tiger shows five toes instead of the customary four,
 it is a magic soul-tiger.

775 Tales of this sort have also reached the valley-dwelling
 825 neighbors of the Meau, who now have considerable fear of the
 [648] Meau. Lajonquière (1), for instance, writes: "that the Thai say

1. II. p. 312.

of the Meau that they do not have to be afraid of tigers because
 they belong to the same family and can transform themselves
 into tigers in the evening." The Meau north of Nan have the
 [763] notion that a tiger /162/ jumps against a house in which a person
 [177] is in his death struggle. The tiger takes the soul, which is
 transformed into a tiger. This idea is undoubtedly foreign,
 probably of Laotian origin.

/164 cont. /

776 other cultivated land are exceptions (see the section, "Cult and Taboo," in this chapter). According to my investigations, there are in general no absolutely evil or primarily good spirits, that is to say, /165/ certain individual spirits are not regarded as representatives of evil and others as those of good. Rather, each spirit is regarded as neutral. If, however, one disturbs a spirit in his dwelling, either by cutting down the tree that represents his abode or by soiling his abode, which he finds especially unbearable if the soiling were by defecation, he becomes angry and takes his revenge on the person or persons. Only through this is the originally neutral spirit, klañ yun, transformed into an evil one, which is then called nyohñ. In such cases one tries to ascertain whether he has actually offended a spirit and strives to propitiate it. In certain cases, the help of the shaman is required, which I shall discuss in greater detail.

[774] The spirits have no connection with the souls, except in the case already described, whereby a soul, through the influence of an evil spirit, becomes an evil spirit itself through its transformation into a tiger. All the spirits are invisible and can only be seen in dreams by the soul of the sleeper. They are male or female in sex, immortal, and otherwise live like human beings. They marry, have children, and cultivate rice and other products of the fields. They are particularly fond of visiting the rice fields of human beings, and in such a case these obviously "evil" spirits must be chased away quickly with the help of the ancestors, and the "good" spirits have to be asked to lend their assistance for the growth and increase of field products, for which a sacrifice of chickens and alcohol is promised.

[241] All the spirits look like human beings and seem to be dressed accordingly. I was told that the evil spirits wore Chinese and Thailand military uniforms!

Besides these general spirits, so to speak, there are others to which definite characteristics and activities are attributed. Some spirits, for instance, have a special liking for war. One turns to them when victory for a military campaign is desired. Similarly, before a Meau works at a forge, he turns to the three

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The spirit of fire is called tả hổ lử pín. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschlieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

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I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yen.

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The spirit sũ kăn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres.

What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

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Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II. p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

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AKha Aof
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/169 cont: /

M spirits and regard lightning as the avenging power, so to speak.
776 with which these spirits punish rebellious mortals.

821 The Meau do not know how an eclipse of the sun or the
[626] moon is produced. As soon as such natural events occur, one must shut himself up at home and may not in any case look at the stars because the latter are being eaten by evil spirits. If one should look nevertheless, the spirits concerned would likewise eat him in an instant. How it happens that the "devoured" stars appear again cannot be explained, nor is it attempted.

M The Meau also do not associate the aforementioned natural
177 phenomena with the supreme "Father-Mother" spirit. How little the religious views of the peoples with whom the Meau come in contact have been adopted is shown by the fact that they pay no attention to comets, whose appearance is of great significance for their Laotian and Chinese neighbors. This is all the more striking since among the Chinese the appearance of a comet signifies the outbreak of a war or revolution, among the Lao the death of a person of royal blood, both being conceptions which, in view of the history and mentality of the Meau, could certainly psychologically /170/ make an impression on them. As has been said, however, although the Meau know the deities of the neighboring peoples, they are little influenced by their views.

A Among the Akha, too, I discovered the conception of a
776 supreme being, which is found in such a marked fashion in the religion of the Meau, and, to be sure, among the Akha it is the god of heaven, äädüchö. He likewise resides in and above the clouds, and all the other spirits are subject to him. Accordingly, he automatically partakes of all the sacrifices offered by the human beings to the other spirits, and therefore special offerings to him are regarded as unnecessary. Telford's (1) opinion that

1. Page 98.

A such a conception is only "vague" among the Akha contrasts with these findings. Perhaps, however, Telford's words refer to the
[773] spirit "yäbidäkhät," who created the universe. In any case,

796 /209 cont. /

574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacrifices
 782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
 114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
 261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
 [776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
 [241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
 [527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

1. II. p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice
 to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors,
 offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper.
 On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and
 collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth
 [769] day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing
 time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by
 offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them."

At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
 [241] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
 [769] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that
 [114] Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
 782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
 sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however,

• [177] are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and
 incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are
 made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the

[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/210 cont. /

778 which the spirit-money is made. Paper is also produced solely
 782 for cultic purposes. It assumes its value as a sacrificial offering,
 [413] however, only after it has been punched with the special punches
 in appropriate fashion. For this purpose the paper is folded, and
 the punch is driven through all the sheets at the same time.

[824] To make the incense candles one uses the bark of two
 special trees, which is dried and pounded, and then the bark
 powder thus obtained is pressed into stick form. These incense
 candles glimmer with considerable smoke and thereby disseminate
 a pleasant odor like incense.

778 One likewise usually makes the spirit-swords himself.
 411 In the Meau village of Kun Fa on the border of Thailand and
 787 Indochina, however, I found /211/ a spirit-sword made of bronze
 (Fig. 55) in the possession of a shaman. The owner told me
 that in a dream the great Father-Mother spirit had told him to
 lay out a rice field at a certain place in the jungle. When he
 set to work to carry out the order, he found the sword under the
 earth. The shaman was convinced that the sword had been sent
 directly to him from the Father-Mother spirit so that he could fight
 the evil spirits more effectively and that the great bisexual Father-
 Mother spirit had killed evil dragons with this bronze sword before
 he threw it to him down on earth. /Figs. 53-55 appear here. /

778 Another ceremonial implement is the magic rattle (chap-
 534 ter on "Art," Fig. 31) of the shamans, which the Meau smiths
 [177] manufacture themselves. One also sporadically finds rattles of
 Chinese origin.

Aside from these cult and ceremonial implements, still
 to be named briefly are the sacral musical instruments, which
 also have been mentioned in a previous section of this work
 (chapter on "Art," section on "Music and Musical Instruments").
 They are the bronze gong (chapter on "Art," Fig. 30), which
 can be of various sizes, skin drum in the shape of hourglasses,
 [177] which are covered at one end and are always of foreign and mostly
 Laotian origin, and the mouth organs (chapter on "Art," Fig.
 26). The latter, to be sure, are not used solely in connection
 with cult activities, but must be included here since, as was
 pointed out, their sound is regarded as pleasing to the spirits.

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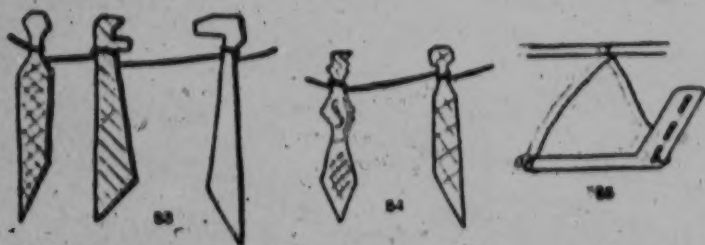
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The Meau do not have any processions, purification procedures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of dances.

[177]

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Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531]

Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal, 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

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Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as, say, a joining together of the young people at the time of initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said, no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau; no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits, they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but not images.

/213 cont./

123 woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which
262 could easily be cured.

[764] I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into ef-
784 fect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community
765 as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose
[262] member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death,
[834] but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower
have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas
after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this
commandment for only one week.

834 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the

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1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with
each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau
in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the op-
posite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other.
Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers
[273] a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invita-
[832] tion, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or
even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition
applies for them.

533 In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does
461 not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this
784 would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-
[626] observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers
would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general
[177] want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the
other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions
of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand
great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every
taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well
as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are
[756] limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont. /

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[164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

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[753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

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[787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1. Page 172.

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[114]
[177] who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medications of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

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776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are: The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/236 cont. /

757 Individual medications of the Meau are extraordinarily complicated in their manufacture. For example, in the fight against amoebic dysentery, unsuccessful though it is, a mixture consisting of 21 substances is given. For skin diseases, especially scabies, the Meau use a medicine called tāun yā. It is made from the sap of a whole number of various trees, lianas, and euphorbias and is used externally. Gonorrhea is treated with an herb extract taken internally. Its efficacy, which I could not test, is supposed to be good.

752 The Meau are also successful in the treatment of wounds, as I was able to ascertain. They take the foliage of two large-leaved climbing plant, called yā yū and mā tlián, crush the green leaves in equal amounts, and apply the substance to the wound. Opium is eaten to ease pain and also for diarrhea.

[824] 270 [757] There is supposed to be a remedy which produces contraction of the uterus and which is given in connection with difficult births. 845

757 In addition to remedies which possibly are actually effective medically, the Meau use a whole number of quack medicines.

[847] For example, the dried human umbilical cord placed upon persons who have fainted is said to revive them. For struma, a tuber, kā, roasted and pounded, is applied. Its inefficacy is clearly seen by the extraordinary frequency of struma. The

752 remedies of the Meau for snake bites and scorpion stings are also ineffective. For the bite of the green tree-snake, crushed gourd leaves are put on the place of the bite; for cobra bites, ear wax.

[827] For python bites, tartar is placed on the wound; for other snake [276] bites, opium again is applied.

177 In addition, Chinese medicines play an important role; among them the aphrodisiacs in particular are very numerous, 278 almost all of which can be traced back to Chinese origin. For 832 example, the pulverized horn of the rhinoceros, for which the Chinese /237/ pay up to 1,000 marks apiece, is used as a means of strengthening waning sexual powers. Pulverized stag-antlers in bast serve the same purpose, for which the horn from a knaggy stag /Kolbenhirsch/ is regarded as almost more valuable than

/237 cont. /

177 the horn of the rhinoceros. Furthermore, the penis of a steer,
 278 which is taken pulverized, is regarded as a good aphrodisiac.
 832 Among the medications of the Meau many efficacious
 757 ones may be found in view of the intelligence and excellent
 278 power of observation of these people, as well as the fact that
 114 they are often successful in combatting disease. In my opinion
 it would be quite worthwhile for our modern medicine to test
 the medications of the Meau pharmacologically. We must not
 forget that a whole series of our medicines go back originally to
 medicinal plants of peoples usually much more primitive than
 the Meau. I shall mention here only opium, kola, cocaine!
 It can hardly be assumed that among the hundreds of medicines
 that the Meau physician uses no actually useful ones would be
 found.

Unfortunately I was not permitted the time to occupy
 myself with this special problem. In addition, my botanical
 knowledge was not sufficient for classifying the medicinal herbs put
 before me. Hence I had to limit myself to listing the names of
 the most important drugs in order to obtain at least a general
 view of those diseases that the Meau themselves are able to treat
 successfully.

845 In obstetrics the Meau are quite skillful. For example, even
 in transverse presentation they are able to turn the child in the
 uterus by reaching in through the vagina with the hand and
 assisting the work of the hand through massage from the outside.

752 They are most skillful; however, in the treatment of bone
 fractures, which are carefully set and bound with two splints and
 bandages. On the other hand they are not capable of doing

[845] trepanation and surgical operations, such as the opening of
 abscesses, Caesarean section, and so forth.

278 Arrow poison plays an important role among the Meau. It
 is said to be very effective, so that only two arrows shot from
 the crossbow is sufficient to kill even the strongest gaur within
 three or four hours. Possibly a poison affecting the heart may
 be involved. /238/ Extraordinary care is devoted to its manu-
 facture. The basic substance is obtained from the bark of cer-
 tain trees in the primeval forest, probably euphorbias according

Miao AES

/274 cont. /

342 between them corresponding to the thickness of the wall, with
 333 the help of clubs. Then the boards are removed and, depending
 184 on the height of the wall, again set up above by fastening them
 to the transverses set into the wall. "

[556]
 [177]

In any case, however, houses built out of mud only represent exceptions among the Meau and may depend not so much on the wealth of the family as on the building material available and the influence of neighboring peoples.

Fig. 71.

342 Fastening of the wall
 boards among the
 Meau. About 1/40
 nat. size.

The floor in all the rooms is the clay soil stamped hard (Ill. 107). $\frac{2}{\lambda}$

The storage lofts rest on the roof beam and the crossbeam (Fig. 66) and consist of strong wooden beams over

353 which narrow rough-hewn boards are laid (Ill. 106). Upon them,
 piled high, rests a mass of household goods, such as old saddle
 and harness equipment, antlers, hides, fish nets, binding material
 bound together in large rolls, baskets of every /275/ size,
 yokes for the draft animals, carrying bags, hemp, tobacco, and
 the like. A part of the storage lofts also often serves for the
 [251] storing of food supplies, such as smoked meat, ears of maize,
 tubers, grain, and so forth. Various devices to hang things on
 are put on the beams of the storage lofts (Ill. 100). $\frac{2}{\lambda}$

[342] Savina (1) reports on this: "Still to be pointed out are

1. II. p. 200.

the two platforms which are found above the two side rooms.

[251] They serve as granaries for the annual harvest: rice, maize,
 grain, sorghum, beans, potatoes, hemp, tobacco, etc. At
 night the rats make a hellish noise here. "

The storage lofts are reached by means of ladders (see
 the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen
 Utensils," Fig. 137 and Fig. 138).

342 The roof truss (Figs. 75 and 76) consists of rafters lashed to-
 184 gether, which are tied to the ridge stringer (Fig. 76, A), which

1 see cat 116, p706 - ANALYST
 2 [" " " p665 -

/301 cont. /

372 one never forgets to cover the fire with ashes in order to keep
 [512] it going until morning."
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The division of space, therefore, corresponds approximately to that described by me, although the houses described by Savina seem to have more interior walls.

372 Fire is made with the help of flint and iron (Figs. 119 and 120). The tinder ignited by the sparks is blown on with the mouth. A bamboo tube is used to kindle a larger fire; I never saw firefans in use anywhere. /Figs. 119-122 appear
 [354] here. / Neither hearth nor fireplace has a smoke vent, so the smoke fills the interior until it slowly escapes into the open air through the gaps in the side walls.

[415] The objects needed to make fire are kept in a small bamboo container (Fig. 122). They are iron (Fig. 119), flints (Fig. 120), tinder (beaten bast of a certain tree), and a small stick of soft wood (Fig. 121) to start the fire. Such complete /302/ fire-making apparatus represents a very
 [511] valuable object and is carefully stored away. Not every adult
 [439] has the fire-making apparatus. Matches are also used, but
 [177] very sparingly, since they are bought from traders who appear only once a year. The firewood is piled up in great heaps against the outside wall of the house, but it also lies around in various places in the living room itself.

415 The grain mortar is built into the cooking and living room (see Fig. 139, the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils"). The wooden mortar is sunk completely into the floor. The movable lever arm of the pestle rests between two posts driven into the ground. At the end it has a treadle for foot operation. A grain mortar (Ill. 96*)
 [511] is found in almost every house, as well as in the larger rice fields, and can also be operated easily by the children. /Figs. 123-126 appear here. /

352 Furniture to sit on is owned only by a house-father with
 511 a large family. In many houses, to be sure, there are parking
 [516] benches or small tables for offerings, but the family sits in
 1/2 [see cat. 116, plates - ANALYST]

/322 cont. /

291 Moreover, I noticed on many occasions that women on a journey or engaged in heavy work in the fields wear long dark-blue trousers and the apron in front over them, instead of the wide, decorated pleated skirt.

The men's clothing of the Meau (Ill. 79¹, also Colored Plate II, Nos. 3, 9, 12) consists of the jacket and trousers. The jacket of the men is collarless and closes on the left side (Colored Plate II, No. 9). The fastening attached at the neck and under the left arm consists of a pewter or silver button and a small loop of red string. The red lacing at the side, /Colored Plate III appears here on an unnumbered page/ /323/ (Colored Plate II, No. 12) to which several handsomely chased silver buttons are attached, serves only for decoration. This ornament is lacking on the workday jacket. The wide, straight sleeves are provided with a more or less wide cuff for the purpose of lengthening them if the need arises. The jacket hangs straight and open, but does not reach the navel, so that a strip of skin as wide as a hand is visible between the jacket and trousers (Ill. 107).²

[294] The trousers, likewise dark blue (Colored Plate II, No. 3), fit tightly around the middle of the body and then hang down long to the ankles. The very baggy seat is sewed in separately [531] (Ill. 81).³ In part to keep the trousers in place and in part for [439] decoration, a sash 250 centimeters long and usually made of purchased red cretonne is wound around the middle of the body and tied at the side, producing a handsome impression.

[531] The men, too, wear the turban. They use the long dark-blue turban-cloth with embroidered ends that was described as the first cloth of the women's turban (Colored Plate III, No. 5). Only it is worn in a different way, and, to be sure, wrapped around the head more on the side in a twisted fashion (Ill. 77).⁴ and not wound high, as is customary among the women. Instead of the turban, older men also wear small black Chinese caps (Ills. 55 and 56).⁵ On festive days, one also sees turbans made of purchased cretonne or silk.

1 [see cat 116, p 576 - ANALYST] 5 [see cat 116,
2 " " " p 706 - " 7367 -
3 " " " p 596 - " ANALYST]
4 " " " p 575 - "]
5

/323 cont./

292 Against rain, the men wear coarsely plaited rain hats
made of straw.

291 The men's clothing of the Meau does not differ from the
184 clothing of the boys. As Lajonquière (1) remarks, men's

1. II, p. 307.

[177] clothing is the same among all the tribes. Only the tribes that
live in close contact with the Chinese are said to resemble them
more and more in dress.

Another author, Abadie (2), also mentions fur-lined vests

2. Page 153.

such as the cold continental climate of Yunnan probably requires,
but not that of Indochina or Thailand. The statements of other
authors, such as Lajonquière (3) and Savina (4), show that the

3. II.

4. II, p. 211.

clothing of the Meau otherwise, even in other countries, does
not essentially differ from that described here. /324/

I could not find footgear anywhere among the Meau in
Thailand. Other authors, too, mention this. It is also stated,

[177] however, (1) that some Meau have adopted the Chinese custom

1. Abadie, p. 153.

[824] of wearing sandals with soles made of rattan fibers or bamboo
or even Chinese slippers made of canvas. Sandals plaited out
of bamboo fibers are also mentioned. One author (2) reports

2. Savina, II, p. 211.

[554] that among the various Meau tribes in Tonkin the clothing of

Miao AES

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
 184 to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
 554 times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
 531 broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs.
 209-210 appear here. /

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.

304 The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is
 completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward
 in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill.
 87).² Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as

large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the
 knot (Ill. 59).² Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
 301 in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
 412 as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and
 teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the
 women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

756 it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village.
 This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

177 /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In
 Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot
 about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).³
 The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight
 queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).⁴

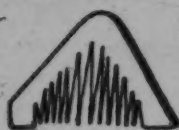
301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
 171 as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments.
 Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the
 neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from
 the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful em-
 broideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn
 around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size,
 weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended
 for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

1 [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST] 4 [see cat 116,
 2 [" " p 448 - "] " PP 365-366 -
 3 [" " p 595 - "] ANALYST]

/325 cont. /

301 are worn over one another (Ills. 52-54).¹ The most common are simple round hoops which are worn open at the neck or are provided with a fastener of silver rings (Fig. 213). Instead of the small silver rings, a silver clasp may also be used to close the hoop, as, for example, in the case of the large neck ring of the shaman, which is illustrated in Fig. 212. Sometimes small charms, powder sewed into black cloth and the like, are attached to the neck hoop for protection against evil spirits (Fig. 211). The two bent ends of the neck hoop are usually provided with incised designs (Figs. 214-216). In

[412]



209



210

Figs. 209-210. Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 209. Wooden comb to stick in the hair, about 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 210. Bamboo comb for dressing the hair, about 1/3 nat. size.

addition to these typical solid silver hoops, such neck rings made of iron or copper, or of silver twisted with copper, are also worn (Fig. 217). All of the neck hoops are made by the Meau themselves and are also worn on workdays.

[325]

[177]

The material for the making of silver ornaments is obtained by melting down the old Indochinese piaster pieces or Chinese silver coins. For a heavy men's hoop nine pieces of mon (which are old Indochinese silver coins) are required.

The earrings of the girls and women -- I did not see any on men -- are likewise made of solid silver. The most common form is provided with an arrow wound with fine silver wire (Fig. 218 and Ill. 60).² /326/ I have also often come across the large silver ear-pendants in the shape of reversed question marks, which Lajonquière (1) mentions, among the

1. II, p. 309.

¹ [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]
² [" " " P 448 - "]

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M /326 cont. /

301 Meau in Thailand (Ill. 57).¹ The dot of the question mark is formed by the button that holds the ornament in the hole in the ear lobe, while the curve hangs down to the chest (Figs. 219 and 220). The same author also saw ear pendants with a ring of jade among the Meau. These ear pendants are usually /Figs. 211-216 and 218-220 appear here/ /327/ purchased from the Yau /Yao/ or Chinese, but are also made by the Meau themselves, faithfully following the traditional model. Children often wear small silver bells in their ears.

Solid rings of silver, copper, or iron are worn around the ankles by both sexes (Figs. 221-223). /Figs. 217 and 221-227 appear here. /

/328/ The finger rings that I saw among women, men, and children were mostly simple, open silver hoops, but one also frequently sees beautiful homemade ornamental rings (Figs. 224 and 225).

M [177] Among the various silver objects still to be mentioned here
[413] are the scratching pins (Fig. 226), probably of Chinese origin,
[276] which one comes across everywhere. They are worn tied to the belt, along with small bells and a needle for serving up opium.

A The clothing of the Akha maintains its characteristic note through the richness and the variety of the ornaments used.

291 The patches, embroidery, and appendages of the articles of
[531] clothing and the body ornaments almost reach the limits of possibility, but nevertheless are used with so much taste that the clothing makes a thoroughly harmonious and very decorative impression (see Ills. 4 to 13 and Colored Plate I)². The basic elements, however, the dark-blue material and the cut, as well as the three-part division of the women's clothing into blouse, skirt, and leggings and the two-part division of the men's clothing into jacket and trousers, are the same as among the Meau and other mountain tribes of Farther India. The fabric is self-woven out of hemp or cotton and indigo (see the chapter, "Handicrafts") and even today is very seldom replaced by purchased goods. The clothing is sewed only by the women and apparently in abundant quantities, for among the Akha we never saw garments in use that were anywhere near as shabby or torn as among the Meau.

1 See Cat 116, p368 - ANALYST]
2 " " " " pp 13-14, 34-37 + 2120 - ANALYST]

/343 cont. /

224
[177] Pitfalls are not set up by the Meau. To be sure, some Meau hunters are familiar with this hunting method from the Lao, but it is not used, as was explained to me, because of the fear that human beings might fall in. The Meau do know a method of catching tigers, however, which is in a way reminiscent of pitfalls. At a point where the customary path of the tiger leads across a brook, a tree trunk cut in the middle is laid across the watercourse. Under the breaking point thus prepared, pointed posts are put in the brook and screened, and the tiger, plunging down, is impaled on them. During our stay the Meau actually succeeded in capturing a big cat in this manner.

[223] The catching of mammals in nets is unknown, but the Meau are very skillfull in setting self-firing traps with a crossbow built in (see the section, "Agriculture," in this chapter), as well as nooses, which, in long rows, always with one noose beside another, are set so as to be invisible in the grass (Figs. 254-256). In association with bait or decoy-whistles (Fig. 257), the hunters then succeed in catching the representatives of the gallinaceous birds, which are especially numerous in Thailand, in the noose or in the snare that has been set (Ill. 80 and Fig. 258). Larger animals up to the size of a deer are caught by the Meau in plate-traps. These consist of a foot board, /344/ which, when stepped upon, pulls up a flexible branch to which the noose is attached and thereby drawn together.

The construction of such deer traps is shown in Fig. 259. When the game steps on the boards fastened on one side over a pit and screened with leaves, the small board e and the crossbar d fall down, which releases the string J and the liana L, and the branch M /Figs. 254-259 appear here/ /345/ snaps upward. Through this the noose H, which was also connected with the liana and was placed over the foot boards, draws together around the leg of the animal. The snaring line is tied fast to a peg driven into the ground so that the captured game cannot escape. In setting the trap, the branch is bent down so low by means of block and tackle that the small board

1 [See cat 116, p595- ANALYST]

Miao AE5

/357 cont. /

243
[262] 1. Rice. It is by far the most important cultivated plant of the Meau in Thailand and actually represents the basis of their diet. Seven different kinds are planted, four of which are glutinous rice and three are so-called white (Chinese) rice. The individual kinds are distinguished by the time until they ripen and also by the size of the grains and ears. All seven kinds belong among the types classified under the concept of mountain rice, which are not cultivated in Europe at all. They grow, independent of artificial irrigation, on cleared slopes. Classified as glutinous rice are the kinds that, when cooked, form a sticky, gelatinous substance, which does not appeal very much to the taste of Europeans. The "white rice," on the other hand, consists of types similar to those available commercially among us in Europe. The Meau have presumably [177] received these different kinds of rice from the Chinese.

The Meau in Thailand begin to plant rice between the end of May and the beginning of June, with the harvest, depending on the type, three to five months later. At the beginning of the rainy season, after the appropriate ceremonies have been performed (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"), cultivation begins. With the digging stick (Fig. 267), one person punches holes in the ground about five centimeters deep and 50 centimeters apart. He is followed by a second one, who lets eight to ten grains of rice fall into each hole, which, however, are not covered with earth, but rather the rain is supposed to do this. The Meau maintain that otherwise the rice would not get sufficient water for their first development.

At the harvest, the rice is cut individually, high on the stalk (Ill. 92),¹ with a special crescent-shaped knife (Fig. 268), put in bundles, and left lying in this fashion in the fields until it is dry. Then it is gathered together in the field hut and, in part, hulled right in the field /358/ in a special mortar which is operated with a suitable lever (Ill. 96).² This rice, as well as the bundles of ears, is then carried into the village (Ill. 93).³ The rice straw remains standing in the field, rots, and thus forms a fraction of the fertilization so necessary to the soil.

1 [see cat 116, p 642 - ANALYST]
2 [" " " p 645 - "
3 [" " " p 643 - "

Miao AES

/380 cont./

272 With the exception of water, non-alcoholic beverages remain unknown among the Meau in Thailand.

273 /381/ Therefore the enjoyment of alcohol plays all the greater a role, especially at the time of the major celebrations. To be sure, since beer-making, such as is customary among the Moi peoples of Indochina, is unknown, the more alcohol is obtained by the process of distillation. The raw product among the Meau is preferably maize. It is mixed with yeast and buried in the ground half a meter deep, when it remains for five days. A certain amount of water is added to the substance thus produced, and the whole is put on the fire in the distilling apparatus (chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Fig. 169) which condenses the escaping alcohol, and the product is collected in a gourd bottle. The distillate is clear as water and has a somewhat earthy taste, but is otherwise similar to the European slivovitz.

[184] According to observations by Abadie (1) and the descrip-

1. Page 161.

tion by Lajonquière (2), the preparation of alcohol in Tonkin

2. II, p. 303.

seems to be similar: "The Meau consume great quantities of alcohol made of fermented grain, sometimes distilled alcohol... The Meau produce alcohol by putting grain, primarily maize, which has been steamed and mixed with yeast, in large earthenware jugs which they seal hermetically during the fermentation. It is then drunk, when needed, with the help of a bamboo tube which is dipped into the liquid." This use of the sucking tube and of the mighty earthenware jugs is characteristic of the "Moi peoples" of Indochina, but is unfamiliar to the Meau of northern Thailand. Presumably the Meau in Indochina have borrowed this from the Moi peoples.

[415]

[184]

[177]

Miao AE5

/387 cont./

- 411 In addition there are double-edged swords for close combat. They are like the spirit-swords in shape, are probably of Chinese origin, and are made longer or shorter in size according to the physical strength of the bearer. The spirit-swords present today show a close relationship with Chinese elements, whereas we found only one old war-sword anymore (Fig. 305).
 [778]
 [175] The old Chinese literature mentions curved swords (1); in this

1. Eberhard, II, p. 254.

connection my finding a ceremonial sword of bronze is of interest (see the chapter: "Religion and Magic," Fig. 55).

Today, the most important weapons of the Meau by far are the /388/ flintlock gun (Ill. 78, Fig. 306) and the crossbow (Figs. 316 and 317), which have pushed all other weapons into the background. Although originally the guns undoubtedly must have been of European origin, nevertheless, in the course of time the Meau have developed a peculiar form of gun which they can manufacture themselves in every detail. They are even able to produce the barrels of their guns; to be sure, they buy the iron from Chinese traders. The firearms made with it are flintlock guns (Ill. 78 and Fig. 306), which are equipped with only a pistol grip. It

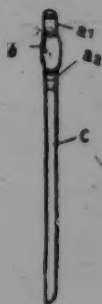


Fig. 305

Sword of the Meau, 1/15 nat. size.

- a = brass mounting,
- b = wooden grip,
- c = blade.

The sword is stuck into a long, narrow wooden sheath.

is not easy to shoot with it. The recoil smashed the nasal bone of one of my porters who tried it. /Figs. 306-308 appear here./

1 [sec cat 116, p576 - ANALYST]

/404 cont./

286 spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones. "

[114] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed together by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by [294] Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a 249 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that 386 thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The 386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 Much more art and skill is required to provide the 531 material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put on the still undyed material by the women with a special [413] instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

Miao AES

/405 cont. /

386 batik pen exactly opposite the way that we hold our pens (Ill. 86).
 531 She begins at the edges of the piece of material to draw the border, then the middle lines follow, and finally the areas between the border and the middle lines are filled in. After the wax drawing is completed, the dipping of the piece of material into the dyeing trough is begun and continued until the areas left free of wax are dyed dark blue. Now the cloth is boiled in water, which removes the wax, and the places previously covered with it, which of course were not dyed, now appear white or light blue.—Fabrics are produced for the purpose of making clothing; carrying bags made of cloth are rather rare among the Meau since plaited baskets primarily serve for this.

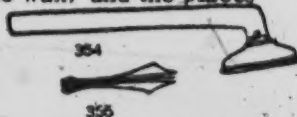


Fig. 354.

Batik instrument of the Meau,
 1/4 nat. size.

Fig. 355. Tripartite Batik Pen, viewed from below, 1/2 nat. size.

[413]

281 The dressing of leather is unknown to the Meau, although
 513 hides scraped clean on the inside and dried in the sun are
 411 sometimes used as sleeping mats or to cover wooden sheaths for
 262 knives and cut into strips for straps. The hair is always left on the skin. Since, however, hides are preferably eaten, indeed as special delicacies, after suitable preparation (see the chapter, Food and Stimulants, "the section, "Food"), such "skins" are very rarely seen in the houses of the Meau.

322 On the other hand, the Meau are masters at woodworking,
 412 although they have relatively few and only simple tools at their disposal. The use of wood saws is unknown to the Meau who are
 177 not extensively Sinicized; only the ax /406/ (see the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," Fig. 273), chisel (Figs. 356 and 357), and wooden and iron wedges are available to them. Two kinds of iron chisels are used: a flat chisel (Fig. 357), and a hollow chisel (Fig. 356). For drilling holes, iron awls (Fig. 358) or very ingenious drills (Ill. 83² and Fig. 361) are used. For

1 [see cat 116, p626- ANALYST]
 2 [" " " p597- "]
 3

/409 cont./

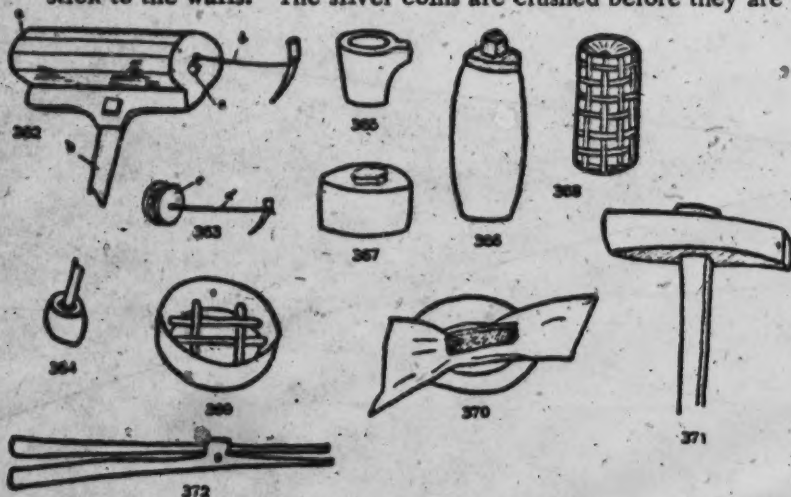
325

[439]

Iron is bought from Chinese traders, or from the Lao, Shan /Shan/, or Burmese, in the form customarily traded in northern Thailand, four-cornered, square bars four to five centimeters thick and 50 centimeters long. Silver, brass, copper, and lead also come from them. In order to obtain

● [177]

silver, the Meau melt Chinese, Burmese, or Indochinese silver coins in the crucible (Fig. 365) of porous stone and pour the silver into the mold (Figs. 369 and 370) which was previously lined with cloth so that the molten metal will not stick to the walls. The silver coins are crushed before they are



Figs. 362-372. Forging Equipment of the Meau.

Fig. 362. Bellows, 1/30 nat. size. Fig. 363. Piston of the bellows. Fig. 364. End of the pipe. Fig. 365. Smelting pot of stone, 1/6 nat. size. Figs. 366-367. Anvils, 1/35 nat. size. Fig. 368. Annealing basket, 1/25 nat. size. Fig. 369. Casting mold, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 370. Casting mold in use. Fig. 371. Sledge hammer, 1/6 nat. size. Fig. 372. Blacksmith's tongs, 1/6 nat. size.

[295]

[415]

[413]

Miao AE5

/409 cont. /

[325] put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of
[237] stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according
to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and
homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased
in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the
metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the
molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of
tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away
with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into
a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus pro-
duced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The
[824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and
polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants.

[413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure,
for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely
[171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other moun-
tain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased
work.

[177] /410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that
[439] came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for
silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from
China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick
and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture
of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks.
For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire-
[414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails
or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and
[531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter,
[301] "Religion and Magic," the section, "Magic, Soothsaying,
Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal
parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used
exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not
make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even
[323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

AKha A04
Miao AES

/427 cont./

A
[439] valleys are likewise sought out by the Akha, is only irregular. In this connection the Chinese who live among the Lao are also sought out for the purpose of smuggling opium, whereby the trader gets the raw product for the merest fraction of the actual selling value, even though the Akha try to strike the best possible bargain. The reason is primarily, as among the Meau, the lack of contact with the outside world, so that the Akha, too, have no way of comparing the prices offered. Incidentally, there are regions where the Akha refuse to go to the valleys to engage in trade. I discovered, for instance, that the Akha living in villages along the Doy Tung, who, to be sure, could easily have reached the valley stores of the Lao and Chinese, never left their mountains, but rather produced all the necessities of life themselves.

A
[438] Among the Akha, too, all trade is undertaken during the dry season. The observation that within the tribe goods are obtained directly from the producer, without any carrying trade, and outside the tribe rarely from the producer and mostly from the trader, is generally true for both peoples.

M
804
177 The Meau are not familiar with any weights and balances and use those of the Chinese. On the other hand, it is indicative of the importance of cotton among the Akha that they have a special cotton weighing-machine. In connection with this there is a weight, the only one the Akha know, which they call hālō, a stone that weighs about three-quarters of a kilogram.

A
[439] Every Akha village has such a weight. It is the chief's duty to produce and to preserve it (see the chapter, "Political Organization," the section, "Kingship and Chieftainship"). To make it, the chief borrows a hālō from a neighboring village /428/ and then grinds a suitable stone until its weight corresponds exactly to that of the borrowed one. Every inhabitant of the village who needs the weight may borrow it from the chief without a fee. The cotton trade in the Akha villages requires considerable patience if only because of the complicated weighing procedure. Every quantity that is sold, however, must be weighed little by little, in portions corresponding to the weight of three-quarters of a kilogram.

/462 cont. /

181
[153] Their reaction to new impressions is remarkably quick, according to my observations, and stands in marked contrast to that of primitive peoples, as well as to that of the neighboring high-culture peoples, such as the Schan /Shan/ or Lao. In any case, it is established that in the case of the Meau there is no question at all of "primitives." Von Eickstedt (3), too, confirms

3. II, p. 57.

● [177] this: "These are no 'primitives.' On the contrary, they are a dislodged tribe with a unique culture definitely from China, but not typically Chinese, driven out by the true Chinese and most strongly influenced by them. These people have their own language and their own tradition."

152
148 It was interesting to observe the behavior of the Meau who accompanied us into the cities of northern Thailand. Toward the Lao and Thai, they were by no means servile, but only modest, and yet proud /463/ and reserved. Impressed, Savina (1)

1. II, p. 184.

describes this pride of the Meau, which, interwoven with an episode, he depicts: "Once when we were traveling with some Meau and rested for a moment in a village of the Thai, whose inhabitants had a dispute with the Meau, great thirst tormented us. The Meau, however, preferred to walk another four kilometers rather than ask the Thai for a glass of water." How very much the Meau, as true mountain peoples suffer from homesickness when circumstances force them to leave their mountains was obvious even during the few days that they spent with me in the valleys. It is again Savina (2) who has also recorded this trait.

2. II, p. 177.

He tells of several Meau in a prison who would not eat and grew visibly emaciated. When asked the reason, they all answered: "We are thinking too much of our homes." A few days later, they were released and regained new strength immediately.

/469 cont. /

115 His unconditional reliance on the information from the spirits
156 by way of the oracle is characteristic of him. We also discovered
622 that prior to our arrival he had asked the spirits what our secret
123 intentions were. The information must have been favorable
[787] for us, since he decided to obey us unconditionally. /470/ I can
well imagine, however, that if the opposite had been the case,
everything would have been other but pleasant.

"Tsin Tsal carefully cultivates his fields and in addition
is an excellent smith who is even able to forge guns and to melt
and work silver. He knows how to make paper as well as to
castrate animals. His real passion is for the hunt. Finally, he
[756] also acts as shaman, questions the spirits, and offers sacrifices to
[757] the ancestors and spirits. He also, however, undoubtedly
possesses medical knowledge, and the Meau come to him from
afar in order to be treated by him. Without detriment to these
✓ activities, he discharges his duties as village chief and judge to
the satisfaction of all."

762 Although the vitality of the Meau seems almost inexhaustible
and they are very cheerful, suicides nevertheless occur. In
three instances that I learned of, it was a matter of unhappily
married women who had no chance of getting a divorce. In one
case, a young man could not get along with his older brother who
was acting as the head of the family.

53 The Meau are not especially good orators, but on the
other hand are very talented lyrically as poets and singers.

● 177 In keeping with their great vitality, they are open to
innovations if a thing does not conflict with their tradition, their
religious prohibitions, or their experiences. They indeed cling
tenaciously to their traditional attire, but, from what has been said,
they may be regarded as quite adaptable. To be sure, Savina (1)

1. II. p. 188.

states: "During the course of his migration he (the Meau, note
by Dr. B.) has seen among other peoples houses that were much
more comfortable than his own. And yet it never occurs to him
to build something similar." In my opinion, however, this does

Miao AES

/470 cont. /

177

not argue against their adaptability, for there is no proof that the Meau, who very carefully and seriously investigate even the most insignificant plant for its usefulness, and who therefore certainly thought about foreign methods of construction, regard the houses of foreign peoples in relation to their own as actually "more comfortable." Probably those houses would not conform as well to the way of life of the Meau.

821

[824]

"Far more limited than their knowledge of the world of animal and plants is that /471/ of minerals or celestial bodies (see also the chapter, "Time-reckoning and Division of the Day"). It is strange that they do not think about the causes of natural phenomena, the change of seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, in spite of the fact that in the mountain forests of northern Thailand these are very prominent. They behave in the same way toward rain, thunderstorms (on the other hand, on the significance of lightning, see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Deities and Spirits"), and even comets and earthquakes, which are simply noted (I have reported on the eclipses of the sun and moon in the chapter-section just mentioned). The Meau estimate the diameter of the sun as ten fathoms in their linear measure, but in their view the moon is larger than the sun, about 20 fathoms in diameter, and the size of the stars varies, with their average diameter probably a fathom in size.

202

As has already been pointed out, the Meau have neither sign nor drum, whistle, secret, or women's language, and no writing of their own, but they do know individual signals for warning one another in case of danger. For example, three shots fired at short intervals or the rapid beating of a gong signify danger. These signals, however, are not used for matters of war. In such cases organized arrangements are handled by messengers.

[124]

153

[675]

The memory of the Meau is excellent. The Meau remember especially well everything that they have promised, which speaks very well for their character.

AKha A04
Miao A05

/475 cont./

A

The Akha, too, treat women and children well, but are not nearly as polite as the Meau, are more robust in every respect, and believe less in the authority of the Whites, whom they approach with confidence. In any case, among the Akha nothing is to be seen of any overly great politeness toward strangers or one another, though they greet one another with the customary "where are you going" or "where do you come from."

A

[554]

Among the Akha, as among the Meau, the younger ones must wait until they are addressed by the older ones. The Akha, however, are not familiar with any gesture of greeting. For them the handshaking, folding of hands, or placing them on the chest, as is customary among the valley dwellers, is as unknown as the greeting gestures of the Meau, which are probably influenced by the Chinese.

M

[177]

[576]

If the Akha combine a visit with a request, they observe the same custom as the Meau do and casually mention the reason for their coming only in connection with the departure, likewise announced several times. As "please," the Akha use the word etsibilá; as "thank you," mũhã. I could not find expressions for disdain, veneration, esteem, and astonishment. Expressions of fear and horror are tšö gü yō or only a drawn-out ĩ; the expression for hatred is mă hō nōn yă. As affirmation, they utter a drawn-out ō; as negation, măi; mădyă is said with the meaning of "there is none."

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In representational artistic talent, the Akha women, like those of the Meau, are far superior to the men. To be sure, the men of both peoples hardly have any opportunity for /476/ pictorial representation, which, in connection with the production of the richly ornamented clothing, is one of the virtues of a good housewife (see the chapter, "Men's Work and Women's Work"). Even in connection with these representations, however, the greediness of the Akha became apparent. Not only did they demand exorbitant prices for everything that I wanted to acquire and, if I was unwilling to agree to it, disappear at once with their articles, never to appear again, but the Akha were also the only people to whom I had to give a special payment for every object that my wife wanted to sketch. It was

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At any rate, a Europeanization, that is to say, the assimilation of the culture of the mountain peoples to the European full-culture, carries great dangers with it. A forced cultural change progressing too rapidly in time /498/ destroys the natural development, destroys the unique culture of peoples, and causes severe psychic shocks. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the peoples who later perhaps become assimilated will always be docile pupils of the colonizers, if they do not merge into their nationality, and whether, on the contrary, serious political complications will not arise in the future. I have already referred to these problems in detail in my *Völkerkunde*, Vol. I, "Aufgaben der Kolonialethnologie/ Problems of Colonial Ethnology/." For a critical examination of the question as to whether the mountain peoples could fit into an organized state in our sense, a brief characterization is essential, in which I shall apply a yardstick corresponding to the European peoples.

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The special abilities of the Meau are described in detail in the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge....," etc. It should nevertheless be recalled here that these people are distinguished by an especially clear mind and a discriminating intellect. The Meau think logically and act deliberately, possess a quick talent for comprehension and critical judgment. Persistence and industriousness at mental and physical work are remarkable. Of particular importance for the colonizer is their willingness to accept innovations once they have recognized them, and their striving for all kinds of improvements. Their manual skill and the indefatigable energy with which hardships and deprivations are endured are also to be stressed here. Their ability to make decisions is probably in every respect foremost among all the mountain peoples.

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Their urge for independence, their fearlessness bordering on defiance of death, their glowing love of freedom, which has been strengthened through thousands of years of fighting against powerful oppressors and has given them the reputation of feared warriors, will perhaps make difficulties for the colonizer.

It must also be pointed out that the culture of these people has undergone a shrinking process. The relatively low material culture and the return to hoe culture with the burning of clearings

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Miao AE5

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• [177] stand in contrast to their spiritual culture in which the many-shaped social and political organization as well as the well-developed and differentiated system of law are predominant. There can be no doubt that the Meau, as a result of their prominent mental and physical /499/ talents and their cultural growth, are capable of achieving a higher culture.

The Lisu, who likewise have undergone a cultural shrinkage, are most similar to the Meau in their mental and physical aptitudes, as well as culturally. The tribal endogamy that in practice is strictly observed by the Meau has been relaxed among the Lisu. Intermixture with the Chinese is especially popular. In the Schan /Shan/ states I came across villages which, with few exceptions, were inhabited by Chinese who had married Lisu women. I also found marriages between Lisu men and Lahu women. It is well known that in the case of such inharmonious unions as marriages between a Lahu and a Lisu the wife always belongs to the inferior people. The Lisu are more distrustful than the Meau and hostile toward foreigners. Intellectually they probably do not measure up to the Meau.

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181 The Akha differ from both these peoples. They do not rank below the Meau in their love of freedom, fortitude, fearlessness, and honesty, but their mental abilities are inferior. To be sure, they are likewise capable of abstract thought and of following difficult thought processes for a longer time, but their intellect is less discriminating and more primitive in every respect. They lack organizational talent and discernment. In comparison with the Meau, they are greedy for money and put great weight on money and the value of money. Their respect for authority is less pronounced. The individual Akha, like the people as a whole, is less disciplined and less methodical. At the same time, the Akha are self-confident, shy only at first and then rather bold in their demeanor. They cling firmly to their traditions; the desire to improve their position in life is less pronounced, and they are at first distrustful when confronted with any innovation. Whereas the colonizer who is once successful in overcoming the mental barrier to the Meau has them completely in his hand and can then rely on them in every respect

/VI cont./

125 brother on her back, proceeds with the drawing material
854 never seen before.

857 Ill. 68. Children making garlands out of fragrant flowers. In
the games of the smaller children both sexes participate.

Ills. 69-74. Festival of the Meau in Nam Fa.

526 Ill. 69. The popular game with the cloth ball. The ball game
883 is of great significance as an opportunity for the two
sexes to approach each other. As a rule, boys and girls
of two villages form opposing teams.

Ill. 70. Since the rules of the game require that the person who
does not succeed in catching the ball must give some
piece of clothing that he is wearing at the moment as
a forfeit to the thrower, interesting consequences are not
wanting when the game continues for a long time.

/VII/

526 Ill. 71. Meau girls at a circle game. They have joined hands
and quickly scamper around in a circle.

Ill. 72. There is a peculiar game with the shuttlecock (upper
left) and the wooden bat, which was the forerunner of
tennis in Europe. Two players alternately hit the
shuttlecock (wooden body with feathers stuck into it).
A net is unknown, as it was originally in Europe.

276 Ill. 73. The most important stimulant of the Meau is opium,
[439] which at the same time represents the most important
article of trade of most of the mountain peoples of
Farther India. The green poppy heads are slit with a
special instrument, and the juice that comes out of
them, hardening in the air and later condensed by cook-
ing, forms the raw opium.

● [177] Ill. 74. Whereas the young people end the festival in their way,
the elders finish it with an opium pipe. Following the
Chinese custom, opium is smoked primarily, and
chewed only as an exception. The illustration shows
the chief of Nam Fa lying on his mat just at the moment
of putting the little ball of heated opium into his pipe
with the help of a needle.